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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Popular Theatre: The Theory of Ross Kidd (1974-1986)

by

Emmanuel Bugri Atongi

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF Master of Arts

Department of Drama

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
Spring 1992

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The undesigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Popular Theatre: The Theory of Ross Kidd (1974-1986) submitted by Emmanuel Bugri Atongi in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Drama.

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DATE...April 24..............19.92

Dedication

To the memory of my father, Atongi Atubiga.

Abstract

In the mid 1970s, Ross Kidd was invited by the national office of adult education in Botswana to assist in the rural development programme of the arid, poverty-stricken area of northern Botswana. The programme was entitled "Laedza Batanani," which literally means, "The sun is already up. It's time to come and work together." Laedza Batanani developed out of concern to deal with the problems in the Bukalanga (Bokalaka) of limited community effort, low participation in public meetings, and apathy or indifference to government development programmes. There was the need to make an effort to engage people in their own development, to substitute self-reliance, participation, and cooperative action for over-dependence on government and excessive individualism.

In the light of this, Ross Kidd decided to experiment with adult education method that would use theatre to generate small group discussion and develop a joint inter-departmental approach to extension work. It is here that Ross Kidd undertook his landmark in the field of popular theatre for development, which has not only become an antecedent of other popular theatre workshops for community development in the Third World countries, but has also distinguished him as one of the most versatile and reputable popular theatre practitioners in the world.

The introduction of the present thesis focuses on the definition of popular theatre, a brief account of popular theatre and its role in the world, and the importance of Ross Kidd as a popular theatre organiser.

Chapter One examines the specific factors in northern Botswana that made adult education and development policies ineffective. It also deals with Ross Kidd's first major attempt of the process of popular theatre by examining his theory, practice, and community involvement.

Chapter Two analyses Ross Kidd's first phase of popular theatre and also examines

that of his second phase for success and constraints that might have militated against the success of his endeavour in relation to his theory, practice, and community participation.

Chapter Three deals with his third process of popular theatre. It appraises his methodology of popular theatre workshop by assessing its impact during and after organising the popular theatre project.

Conclusion of the thesis. It is a theory, enunciated from the preceding analyses, on the successful organisational steps applied by Ross Kidd and my own contribution.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my most profound gratitude to Professor David Barnet and Jan Selman for the encouragement and guidance they consistently gave me as I wrote this thesis. I am also deeply indebted to Professor David Barnet and Dr. George Lang for their supervision. I do not think that I could have completed the thesis without their kind but firm supervision.

I once more express my heart-felt thanks to the following members of my defence committee: Professor David Barnet (Chairman), Dr. George Lang (external examiner), and Jan Selman (departmental member).

To Dr. James Mcteague, I owe him a big debt of gratitude for the help which he unhesitatingly gave me in the choice of my thesis topic.

I must not forget to thank Bill Meilen who willingly permitted me to use the playwrights' computer.

Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without Theresa S. Kpinpuo's laborious proofreading and criticism. I owe her a debt of gratitude.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Dedication.. iv

Abstract.. v

Acknowledgements.. vii

INTRODUCTION.. 1

Definition of Popular Theatre.. 1

Popular Theatre and its Role in the World.................................... 3

Ross Kidd's importance as a Popular Theatre Organiser...................... 16

CHAPTER ONE.. 23

The Early Botswana Workshops.. 23

CHAPTER TWO.. 50

Revised Strategies in Botswana.. 50

CHAPTER THREE.. 64

The Fruit of the Zimbabwean and the Ghanaian Experiences.............. 64

CONCLUSION.. 91

BIBLIOGRAPHY.. 102

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse and evaluate Ross Kidd's popular theatre workshop reports in order to understand his methods of approach to popular theatre and to extract a theory of organising popular theatre. This introduction focuses on the definition of popular theatre, a brief account of popular theatre and its role in the world, and Ross Kidd's importance as popular theatre organiser. Subsequent chapters deal with three major processes of popular theatre by examining three phases of Ross Kidd's work: the early Botswana workshops, revised strategies in Botswana, and the fruit of the Zimbabwean and the Ghanaian experiences. Each chapter will examine one or more specific popular theatre project in terms of his theory, practice and community involvement. The conclusion deals with a theory of organising popular theatre, which has been enunciated from the implications of Ross Kidd's different popular theatre processes and my own input.

This introduction begins with the definition of popular theatre. The role of popular theatre in the world is briefly described in relation to the different countries' objectives in using it. The final part of the introduction describes what makes Ross Kidd an important popular theatre organiser.

DEFINITION OF POPULAR THEATRE

Popular theatre can simply be defined as a theatre which speaks to the common person in his or her own language and idiom and deals with difficulties which are directly relevant to his or her situation. In short, the performance is presented in the language of the people and its theme is often a crucial problem in the community.

It is a theatre in which the community is directly involved in "writing" and acting out situations of their lives. The community members, maybe with the help of the outside popular theatre experts, identify a crucial issue or a problem prevalent in their locality, and suggest that this might be the theme for a dramatic performance. They also analyse the problem to find out the causes of it and decide the interpretations of the performers.

Popular theatre builds on performative traditions of narrative drama, dance, music, poetry, and puppetry so that it provides cultural continuity. It is also an entertaining form of education and can be used for exploring socio-cultural and political issues. As entertainment, it attracts and holds the interest of large numbers of people, who would otherwise not go to the literary, artistic and commercial theatres. It is performed for and by the marginalised people. It is called popular theatre because it is accessible to all persons, without regard to caste, social status or education, and caters for a large number of people at time.

Popular theatre is a process of an educational drama and of collective improvisation which is used as a means of bringing people together to discuss and analyse their economic, political and social realities. Through role-playing, popular theatre activists in collaboration with the community members, are able to find possible solutions to the critical community issues. The role-playing also helps the theatre practitioners to build confidence and unity of agreement in the community members and mobilise them to take collective action to transform the situation.

Popular theatre has moved drama out of the theatre houses where it was the exclusive preserve of the literary and artistic bourgeoisie into places where the marginalised and oppressed of the communities meet to entertain themselves and discuss their problems. As compared to elitist drama, it provides a much freer, open questioning of the cultural and social exploitation of the unprivileged classes. The re-enactment of the problems by the local people and their finding ways of overcoming exploitative injustices or social difficulties offer a degree of personal involvement and participation.

It is not "high art occasionally toured around the boondocks bringing culture to the deprived masses"[1]. It emerges most strongly in contexts where the unprivileged masses are culturally awakened but are repressed by a dominant elite who prevent them from articulating themselves in public media and conventional performance. As Sylvia Moore states:

> especially in politically repressive regimes, where modern media are owned and controlled by government officials or wealthy landowners and industrialists, *live performance* is one of the few channels open for political expression, historical consciousness, the assertion of group identity and the source of alternative information.[2]

POPULAR THEATRE AND ITS ROLE IN THE WORLD

At the turn of the nineteenth century, with the influx of industrial workers in European urban centres, there was an attempt to take theatre to the less privileged masses. Playwrights and directors such as Romain Rolland and Eugene Pottecher in France thought that this form of popular theatre was what Rousseau, Diderot and the cultural leaders of the French Revolution had dreamt of at the end of the eighteenth century. Classical drama based on the great central values of Western civilisation was toured to the rural masses.

In the 1930s, however, Bertolt Brecht held the opinion that the people to which this use of "popular" was referred were no longer to be described as "quaint" or "folksy," nor as a group or class whose time-honoured customs and traditions had strengthened their inferior status. "Our conception of popular," he suggested, "refers to the people who are not fully involved in the process of development but are eventually taking it over, forcing it, deciding it."[3] Brecht linked both tradition and revolution in the concept of "popular", which he defined as , "...taking over [the people's] own forms of expression and enriching them ...representing the most progressive section of the people in such a way that it can take over the leadership ...linking with tradition and carrying it further..."[4] As stated above, Brecht, therefore, had the conception of "popular" to be theatre by the unprivileged and exploited workers, to be about their situation, and for their understanding of the causes of this situation. He did not mince his words but said that the masses would take over culture and usurp the initiative in art from the bourgeoisie.

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[1] Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *Popular Theatre and Participation in Development: three Botswana case studies*. Bosele Tshwaraganang Publications, No.3, p. 2.

[2] Sylvia Moore, *Music for life sake: Mediatory role of the Arts for Socialisation in Non-industrial Regions*. Seminar on Traditional Media and Community Media. The Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, June 22 1982, p. 13.

To complement Brecht's conception of popular theatre, the necessities of the period change the focus of popular theatre functions. Moreover, since theatre of any country is reflective of the socio-economic and political order of that country, the role of popular theatre, therefore, varies from one country to another depending upon the needs of the people. For example, for many of the oppressed in some of the Third World countries, significant improvements in their lives do not occur when the countries progress and experience development. To achieve these improvements, these oppressed have rejected the imposed colonial heritage of westernised forms of theatre and have made a common attempt to revitalise indigenous cultural traditions while making them relevant to their present and future priorities. As people's difficulties vary from country to country so will the roles of popular theatre.

As Ross Kidd noted,

> there is a wide spectrum of disparate activity operating under the label 'popular theatre,' ranging from message-oriented programmes on one end to grassroots processes of popular education and organising on the other.[5]

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[3] Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre*. Hill and Wang, New York, 1964, p.108

[4] Ibid. p.108

Popular theatre functions can be categorised, as struggles for national independence, mass education and rural extension work, community participatory development, conscientisation or popular education and organising.

Popular theatre has played a major role in the struggles for national independence in the Third World countries. It helped to build a national identity and culture, mobilised support for the freedom fighters, built up solidarity and morale, and stirred up mass action. It became a major force to be reckoned with in the 1940s and the 1950s when it was used for nationalist struggles throughout the Third World. The Communist Chinese "resistance theatre" of the 1930s inspired the freedom fighters. Freedom fighters in Egypt, India , Indonesia , Jamaica , Kenya , Nigeria , Vietnam , Zambia, and many other imperialist ruled countries used popular theatre to challenge colonial injustices, arouse nationalist awareness, and rally support for the national liberation war[6]. As Sylvia Moore noted, the colonial rulers owned and controlled the modern mass media and prevented the nationalists from articulating themselves politically in the public media and conventional performances. The nationalists, therefore, had to depend on their own traditional media such as the dance-dramas, songs, poetry, drumming , and puppetry to express their political revulsion of the colonial unfairness.

For example, the nationalists in Indonesia used an indigenous simulated puppetry called *Wayang* to strengthen morale and to talk about the issues and problems of the liberation war. Through the performances they were able to mobilise support of the masses for the struggle against the Dutch. The new form of puppetry had Sukarno, freedom fighters and the Dutch as its characters. Its dialogue was based on stories about the fight for national independence. The freedom fighters performed secretly all over the country which helped

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[5]. Ross Kidd, *Popular Theatre and Non-Formal Education in the Third World: Five Strands of Experience.* International Review of Education xxx, 1984, p.266

[6]. Ross Kidd and Mamunur Rashid, *From Outside in to Inside Out: People's Theatre and Landless organizing in Bangladesh.* January/ February 1983, p. 30.

them to oppose imperialist propaganda, disseminate nationalist goals and strategies, and spark off anti-colonial sentiment.[7] In the Philippines, the nationalists used popular theatre in the revolt against Spain and the United States of America, and then in the 1940s against the Japanese.[8] Popular theatre played an important role in the movement against Marcos' regime. In the 1930s the Red Army in China organised theatre to reinforce the morale of the troops and win over the support of the local people.[9] In Zambia and Malawi in the 1950s and early 1960s, the nationalists used songs to popularise their messages of anti-colonialism, inspire their supporters, and incite collective action against the colonial rulers.[10]

A notable instance of popular theatre for national liberation occurred in Zimbabwe in the 1970s. In the Zimbabwean struggle, nationalist fighters and villagers organised all-night *pungwes* in which the combatants and their supporters put on skits, composed songs, read poetry and adapted traditional dance as a way of strengthening morale.[11] The *pungwes* played an important role in revitalising the performance tradition from community festivals which had been undermined during the Rhodesian colonial era. In spite of the rigid curfew imposed by the Ian Smith government, *pungwes* became a common occurrence. Through the performances, the freedom fighters conveyed to the peasants the ideas and spirit of the revolution. The villagers, having acknowledged their undue suffering, became enthusiastic principal actors and actresses (performers or players) of the presentations and co-organisers of the cultural gatherings for the political sessions. As villagers' interest mounted and their support consolidated, they collaborated with the freedom fighters and took up arms against their colonial dominators. Although the fight was long and arduous, they finally won their independence.

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[7] J. R. Brandon, *Theatre in South-East Asia.* Cambridge Mass: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

[8] Ross Kidd, People's Theatre, Adult Education and Social Change in the Third World. International Council for Adult Education, 1980, p. 20.

[9] Roger Howard, "Propaganda in the Early Soviet and Contemporary Chinese Theatre." *Theatre Quarterly.* 7(27): 1977, pp. 53-60.

[10] A. S. Masiye, *Singing for Freedom.* London Oxford University Press, 1977.

[11] Ross Kidd, *From People's Theatre for Revolution to Popular Theatre for Reconstruction: Diary of a Zimbabwean Workshop,* The Hague: CESO, 1984.

Popular theatre was used in certain parts of the world for mass education and rural extension work. In India and China Rabindranath Tagore and James Yen respectively were the earliest activists to use theatre for mass education and rural extension work. They organised mass education theatre to teach the rural people basic ideas on health and sanitation, evils of money-lending, litigation, and alcoholism, and to promote self-reliance.[12]

Another form of theatre for development was begun in the 1960s. The universities of Ibadan in Nigeria, Makerere in Uganda, Nairobi in Kenya, Malawi and the University of Zambia set up travelling theatre teams whose members were solely students and tutors. They toured around the villages with plays on conflicts between traditions and modernisation, and other issues. This was an effort to let theatre reach out to the masses. The Zambian theatre group organised workshops in addition to the presentations during the tours. The rural people were taught theatre skills so that they could form their own theatre groups.[13] When many developing countries attained independence they used theatre to educate the local people on national identity, civic responsibilities, and the tenets of the new states, and to mobilise them to participate in national reconstruction programmes. Examples of such countries are Ghana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

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[12]. Tevia Abrams, "Folk Theatre in Maharashtrian Social Development Programmes." *Educational Theatre Journal*. (1975), 27(1): 395-407: J. C. Kiang. Dr. Y. C. James Yen: *His Movement for Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction*. Silang, Cavite, Philippines: International Institute for Rural Reconstruction.

[13]. S. Chifunyise and D. Kerr. "Chikwakwa Theatre and the Zambian Theatre Tradition." Theatre International, 1984, pp. 11-12.

India, Indonesia, and Malaysia each established informational theatre departments within their respective Ministries of Information. With respect to India, the Song and Drama Division (SDD) of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting was formed in 1954. It gradually developed a large central office in Delhi with eight smaller offices in the major cultural-linguistic regions of India. The most frequently used form of medium was puppetry, but also used were narrative ballads, operatic folk theatre and folksongs. Folk media troupes were often used for major government campaigns such as the family planning crusade of the 1970s, health education campaigns like hygiene, nutrition, preventative medicine, etc., and for national civic education. Folk media were also used for introducing agricultural techniques, rural cooperatives and social welfare education such as resolving family problems.[14]

> In Indonesia, under Sukarno the dalangs (shadow puppeteers) and drama troupes mainly promoted the government ideology: the Continuing Revolution, Social Justice and Prosperity, Land Reform, Unity and Diversity, the National Front, Discipline and Increased Productivity, etc.[15]

The theatre teams in Malaysia linked the work of development communications and security to sabotage the support for the communist guerrillas and at the same time disseminate government policies and programmes. The Federal Land Development Authority which was responsible for resettling landless peasants employed a full-time folk drama troupe to entertain and encourage them to establish their own theatre groups.[16]

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[14] Madhu Malik. *Traditional Forms of Communication and the Mass Media in India.* (No.13 in the Communication and Society Series of UNESCO, 1983), Paris: UNESCO.

[15] Ross Kidd. People's Theatre, Adult Education and Social Change in the Third World. International Council for Adult Education, 1980, p. 4.

[16] John Lent. "Grassroots Renaissance: Folk Media in the Third World Nations." *Folklore*. 1980, 9(1): 78-91.

Some countries have trained development workers in theatre skills to use theatre as an educational process in their extension work. For example, Botswana health educators, agricultural extension workers, and the field staff of self-help housing projects put on drama and puppet shows for the propagation of their respective departmental development messages and stimulated participation in development projects. In Canada, the Catalyst Theatre of Edmonton used theatre to increase the awareness and self-confidence of alcoholics, drug addicts, and the mentally handicapped. The Catalyst Theatre now involves its audience in discussing and developing the drama which has a curative and consciousness-raising potentiality. In contrast to the work of the Catalyst Theatre, the Mummers of Newfoundland, Great Canadian Theatre Company of Ottawa, Kam Lab of Thunder Bay, 25th Street House of Saskatoon, and Theatre Energy of British Colombia have worked closely with labour, cooperatives, community organisations, tenant associations and/or community workers developing community education theatre and sometimes as a catalyst for community collective action.[17]

Certain governments established theatre as a stimulus for community or participatory development. The first method implemented by these governments in the 1950s and 1960s, appeared more didactic than participatory. The audience only participated in the post-performance discussion, which was very brief. In the 1970s, as experience grew over the years, new initiatives were experimented with. Instead of the didactic approach in which development workers controlled the process of selecting the issues, making the drama, performing it, and teaching skills, attitudes and messages to be adapted by the audience, theatre was now considered to stimulate reciprocal communication, organisation, and collective effort. The audience was engaged in much of the process except in the problem-analysis and the improvisation of the plays. It was also seen that popular theatre could help assemble the community, facilitate participation in dialogue, foster community spirit, identify difficulties in the communities, spark discussion, challenge apathy and individualism, and inspire the villagers to take collective action to transform the issues.

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[17]. Ross Kidd and Dickson Mwansa. *We'll turn the whole World bottoms up.* Toronto, Canada, 1981.

Countries like Cameroon, Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe carried out similar work with modifications. In Ghana and Tanzania the indigenous cultural groups were oriented towards this new approach. These cultural groups improvised performances using the rural people's problems as the basis. Later, at village rallies, they performed the plays for the rural peasants from which the difficulties originated.[18]

In Sierra Leone theatre was used to raise health problems and to discuss their solutions with the community during a community-based health programme. The performers were the village health committee members. As a result of the performances, tuberculosis patients were encouraged to go for treatment, village laws compelling pregnant women and children to go for immunisation were passed, and wells and pit latrines were dug.[19]

In other parts of the world, popular theatre was applied to conscientise the poor and marginalised masses to wake up from their traditional lethargy and anxiously participate in the development of their countries. For instance, in Latin America political suppression and imperialism in its various forms from culture to education precipitated the formation of a radical popular theatre for organising and action. It is against these oppressive systems that Paulo Freire propounded his system of dialogics in the 1960s, which is a pedagogy that is geared towards the liberation of the poor. Freire's educational methodology is a process of conscientisation, the process by which the poor and oppressed learn to see social, political and economic realities, and to take action against oppression. Freire's pedagogy influenced and adjusted educational practice not only in his own country, Brazil, but also in other parts of Latin American countries, such as Peru. The pedagogy also influenced popular theatre practice. Augusto Boal's poetics of *Theatre of the Oppressed* is heavily influenced by Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.*

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[18]. Robert Russell. "Cultural Groups as an Educational Vehicle". In D. C. Kinsey and J. W. Bing. (eds.). *Non-Formal Education in Ghana: A Project Report*, Amherst, Mass: Centre for International Education, University of Massachusetts, 1978; Penina Mlama. "Theatre for Social Development: The Malya Project in Tanzania. In Kidd, R. et al. (eds.). *The Koitta Papers: International Dialogue on Popular Theatre*. Toronto: International Popular Theatre Alliance, 1984.

[19]. Nancy Edwards. *The role of Drama in Primary Health Care*. Educational Broadcasting International, 1981, 14(2): 85-89.

Augusto Boal experimented with his theatre methodology in a Peruvian literacy campaign in which theatre helped education. He tried to illustrate practically how theatre could be used by the oppressed as a language to discover new concepts. Augusto Boal has stated that, "...the theatre [is a] language, capable of being utilised by any person with or without artistic talent".[20] The major objective of Augusto Boal's poetics of the oppressed is to transform the people--"spectators, passive beings in the theatrical phenomenon- into subjects, into actors, transformers of the dramatic action."[21] The action goes beyond the drama as Augusto Boal suggested that it is used to try out solutions to actual problems and discuss plans for change. In this case, theatre becomes a rehearsal for revolution. Boal, therefore, maintains that

> all the truly revolutionary theatrical groups should transfer to the people the means of production in the theatre so that the people themselves may utilise them. The theatre is a weapon and it is the people who should wield it.[22]

In the Philippines, right from 1972, the Mindanao-Sulu Pastoral Conference developed a creative dramatics programme as a support mechanism for organising the oppressed sectors. "From its very conception and beginnings in Mindanao-Sulu, the creative dramatics programme has been seen as a tool for conscientisation."[23] During a period of ten years community theatres or performing theatre groups were developed to present plays aimed at making people aware of their political situation. Training was provided to develop a local performing group that could present plays for conscientisation. It led to mobile performing groups, which toured villages and presented radical plays that could agitate the people towards a new consciousness.

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[20]. Augusto Boal. *Theatre of the Oppressed.* Urizen Books, New York, 1979, p. 121.

[21]. Ibid. p. 122.

[22]. Augusto Boal. *Theatre of the Oppressed.* Urizen Books, New York, 1979, p. 122.

Another example of popular theatre for conscientisation and organising was the Los Alpes group in Nicaragua. Los Alpes was born out of community needs:

> In 1974 the community [the village of Las Lagunas] decided to build a small church and school. As the Somoza regime was not interested in education for Campesinos [peasants], the community decided to raise money for themselves by holding a dance and charging admission. No one came. Then someone came up with an idea of doing a skit of some sort instead, and Los Alpes was born.[24]

The initial scripts were collectively created farces on original themes. The community improvised its scenarios. Its first plays were broad basic farces, just comedy because they were not politicised then. Later, as the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) guerrilla forces gained strength in the area, their plays took on strong political importance as vehicles to conscientise their own neighbouring communities to the revolutionary struggle, and to make their audience aware of basic social problems such as health, illiteracy, etc.

The Somoza regime's lack of interest in educating the peasants illustrated that the government was keen only on continued slavery of its people. It is this political context that prompted Los Alpes to rise to challenge the Somoza regime. The Los Alpes theatre team had two-fold objectives of making people aware of problems in the community and to get them to make decisions about solving them, and motivating people to become involved in the struggle. As the group's politics developed, so did the repression from Somoza's National Guard. Hence, Los Alpes went beyond motivation and joined the Sandinista National Liberation Front guerrillas against Anastasio Somoza's regime. Two months after the triumph of the revolution, they reformed the theatre group, and have steadily been producing ever since under the canopy of MECATE (Nicaragua's Movement of Campesino Artistic and Theatrical Expression). This association is a forum for change among the farm workers' cultural groups. It brings the groups together to forge solidarity and to encourage development. It is also the cultural arm of, and animation team for the Asociacion de Trabajadores del Campo (ATC). The ATC is the Farm Workers' Union which was set up in 1976. In a nutshell, popular theatre in Nicaragua was born out of a spontaneous reaction to repression under dictatorial leadership.

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[23]. Karl Gaspar. *The History of the Growth and Development of the Creative Dramatics in Mindanao-Sulu Pastoral Conference Secretariat, Davao Philippines,* 1972, Third World Popular Theatre Newsletter, Vol.1, No.1., January, 1982, p. 27.

[24]. Dickson Mwansa. *Third World Popular Theatre Newsletter,* Vol.1. No.1., January, 1982, p. 7.

Furthermore, popular theatre has also been used by a number of countries as a process of critical analysis, collective organising, and action for social change by the oppressed and suppressed groups, such as landless labourers, peasant farmers, women, urban slum dwellers, migrant labourers, victimised castes and indigenous groups. Examples of such countries largely come from Asia and Latin America where popular theatre activists have combined theatre activity into a continuous educational and organising process for the marginalised groups.

In the same way as in Nicaragua, radical political theatre in Bangladesh has been a fight against oppression and suppression. Bangladesh was plagued with capitalism and feudalism. Its liberation war against Pakistan's military rulers ended through the surrender of the foreign troops on December 16th 1971. Though Bangladesh achieved her political independence, it could not attain her cherished goal, the economic emancipation of the people. As Ross Kidd and Mamunur Rashid noted,

> they had hoped that the liberation war would lead to a true revolution, one in which land would be redistributed, other feudal

> structures transformed, and Bangladesh's economy taken over by the people of Bangladesh.[25]

However, their hopes were futile. The rural structures of uneven possession of land remained the same. The economy was still under foreign control and a small comprador class monopolised the benefits of the independence. In February, 1972, a very significant event in the Bangladesh cultural arena took place. Some young freedom fighters who had returned from the war field established a theatre called *Aranyak* which reflected the hopes, dreams and the true life of the down-trodden people of the country. Particularly, it challenged feudalism.

The landlords owned the land and the majority of the people were landless. The landless people lived on the landlords' land and worked for meagre wages. The landlords' relationship with the landless people was feudal.

The *Aranyak* theatre staged drama which portrayed the life and work of the oppressed and exploited people who had never been seriously listened to. The theatre started off as an ambulant group touring their plays to the villages. Later, it moved to the people themselves and created plays based on the story of how the rural people could organise plays reflecting the ideas of their own socio-economic and political problems and use them for organising and action. Similarly, in South India, rural theatre animators put on satirical dramas about the landlords and brought out some of the principal issues and sources of oppression in the Harijan communities in an effort to stimulate class consciousness, commitment and hope. They held post-performance discussions to challenge the Harijan labourers to find out why these difficulties remained unsolved. Through this examination, they got the labourers to express their fears and dependence on the landlords as well as elicited information on successful organising experiences by other landless labourers to show that they were capable of solving their own problems. After this work the landless people formed an organisation, mobilised themselves and took action on the issues that could easily be transformed.

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[25] Ross Kidd and Mamunur Rashid, "Theatre by the People, for the People and of the People: People's Theatre and Landless Organizing in Bangladesh. Bulletin of the Concerned Scholars, 1984. 16(1): pp. 36-37.

A further example of popular theatre being applied for mobilisation and popular organising was the Kamiriithu experience in Kenya, Africa. The Kamiriithu Community Educational and Cultural Centre (KCECC) which was a community organisation of peasants and workers began the practice of non-formal education as a strategy and a medium for action. Kamiriithu did not benefit from the country's independence since their life-style did not alter. Its inhabitants continued to live in slums and served as a source for cheap labour. As a result, the community organisation improvised their own plays as a form of popular education and protest against a series of political injustices meted out to them by the government. These injustices included oppression and harassment of the Kamiriithu people by the colonial settlers perpetrated by the neo-colonialist government of Kenya, occupation of the people's land by the colonial settlers, unemployment, exploitative labour practices, foreign domination of the economy, and other controversial issues.

The community organisation with the assistance of Ngugi wa Thiong'o in 1972 created a play entitled *Ngahiika Ndenda* ("I will marry when I want.") The play tells a story about the lives, struggles, songs, experiences, hopes, concerns, and wage labourers of Kamiriithu in Kikuyu, the language of Kamiriithu. It also satirises the manipulation of religion, the greed and corruption of the ruling classes, the treachery of colonial collaborators and the exploitative practices of the multinationals. In short, the play was part and parcel of the lives and history of the people of Kamiriithu. It reflected their lives in their language. When the people realised that the play mirrored their lives, they took initiative in proposing additions and deciding the form of performance as regards designing the open-air stage, where the audience should sit.

However, after a few performances of the play in a large number of villages, the Kenyan government banned the existence of the community organisation and demolished the community centre.

From the foregoing discussion, it would be seen that popular theatre has played many development roles in the world, particularly in the Third World. These roles range from the use of popular theatre as an effective medium for putting across information and persuading the audience to change their bad practices and attitudes, to the use of theatre as an audience-controlled conscientisation and organisation process through which the poor and marginalised can transform their difficulties of exploitation and dependence.

ROSS KIDD'S IMPORTANCE AS A POPULAR THEATRE ORGANISER.

Ross Kidd has worked and written so extensively in the field of popular theatre that to recount all of his works would mean writing a voluminous book. As a result, only a few of his prominent works would be dealt with in this paper.

While an undergraduate student in the University of McMaster, in Hamilton, Kidd produced his first popular theatre experiment of an improvised satyr on the working conditions and life in remote work camps in Northern Ontario. For a doctorate degree, he studied "Popular Theatre, Adult Education, and Social Change in the Third World" at the University of Toronto. He has worked extensively in the field of popular theatre. He worked for twelve years in adult education in Zambia, Botswana and Swaziland, where he was responsible for developing the popular theatre movement. In Swaziland, he developed materials and methods for a national literacy project. Later, he joined the adult education unit of the University of Botswana. While he was in the University of Botswana, he was invited in 1974 by the national office of adult education in Botswana to assist in the rural development programme of the arid, poverty-stricken area of northern Botswana. This programme, called *Laedza Batanani* was concerned with training government extension workers in health, agriculture, education, cooperatives and village development projects. It is here that Ross Kidd undertook his landmark work in the field of popular theatre for development, which has become an antecedent of other popular theatre workshops for community development. The Botswana workshop of 1978 which became the model of other workshops with modifications in Africa represented the culmination of four years of experimental work in theatre for development.

While Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal used theatre for conscientisation of the masses for the development of critical consciousness as a major component of struggle for liberation from oppression, repression and suppression, Ross Kidd used it as a basis for community organisation and social development.

In Botswana he opened up a new dimension to the method of organising popular education with the idea that the workshop participants should create their own drama including other performative arts rather than discuss a photograph or a slide projection which has been prepared beforehand. During the initial experiments of conscientisation or popular education methods in the 1960s, Paulo Freire considered theatre to be equivalent to a photograph, slides, songs or poetry that represented the difficulties of the poor marginalised and exploited. He called these photographs, slides, songs or poetry codes. He postulated that any of these could be used to focus and stimulate discussion as a consciousness-raising tool. He also thought that by using the photograph which was prepared beforehand to evoke discussion the "banking" (didactic or top-down) method of education would be overcome. On the contrary, Ross Kidd tried it in Botswana in the 1970s for a literacy workshop and discovered that the use of the photograph rather reinforced the "banking" tendency which Freire's method set out to overcome. Kidd argued that the code, which was either a slide projection or a photograph, was prepared beforehand by an educator or by an educational agency, just as the extension workers of agencies did in the 1950s and travelled to perform their plays for the rural people. The only difference between Freire's method and that of the extension workers was that Freire's method promoted discussion or analysis whereas that of the extension workers rarely did. However, Ross Kidd was influenced by Augusto Boal's experiment with drama with the peasant study groups in Brazil's Education Movement. The peasant study groups acted out their problems or experiences in short skits or role-plays. Kidd defended his idea of prefering drama to a photograph by saying that popular theatre drama requires the participation or involvement of workshop members in creating it, acting it out, as well as analysing it or exploring other contradictions of the problems whereas a photograph is prepared beforehand and only brought to the workshop participants for analysis and discussion.

In July, August, and September, 1978 Ross Kidd made a study tour of India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The subject of his study was "The use of the performing arts in non-formal education and social change in Asia". It was part of a larger study on this phenomenon throughout in the Third World. Through this study tour, he compiled a bibliography with an introductory essay. The former contains 1,800 items on the use of the performing arts as a medium for education and social change in the Third World. The bibliography and introductory essay which is entitled "The Performing Arts, Non-formal Education, and Social Change in the Third World", was published in February, 1982 at the Hague.

Kidd has worked with people's theatre in his native country, Canada. He was invited by the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Participatory Research Project of the International Council for Adult Education to organise a project in "Popular Theatre for Public Education" (PTPE). The project was set up to arrange an exchange of ideas and experience in the use of theatre for community and social development. He linked up with Ngugi wa Mirii, a celebrated Third World adult educator, to organise the project. Ngugi wa Mirii shared his experience in community theatre work in Kenya, whereas Kidd shared his of Botswana and many other Third World countries with the Canadian project participants. A series of workshops, seminars and meetings with groups of adult educators and theatre workers in a number of major centres across Canada was carried out. This tour culminated in a national popular theatre conference organised by the Mummers Theatre in Newfoundland.

Owing to Kidd's immense experience in organising popular theatre workshops, he was invited by other countries such as Bangladesh, Nigeria and Zimbabwe to assist in organising their popular theatre workshops. In March 1980, he was called upon by Proshika in Bangladesh to co-run a national residential training programme which supported animation work in the rural areas of Bangladesh. Proshika is a non-governmental Bangladeshi development organisation engaged in conscientisation training and animation work in the rural areas among the landless poor.

The workshop was attended by about twenty rural organisers or animators, twenty landless group leaders, and a few middle class cultural workers. Ross Kidd used the process he developed in Botswana to run the workshop. As was done in Botswana, the Bangladesh animation workshop was carried out in connection with a practical community-based project. In the case of Bangladesh, the workshop participants were sent in groups to villages where they met with landless labourers which Proshika had pre-organised. Research was conducted by the workshop participants for the landless labourers' difficulties after which the participants went back to their workshop centre with a few of the landless labourers, analysed the issues and developed plays. Then, they returned to the villages and presented the plays to the landless community members and held post-performance discussion. In effect, Ross Kidd had transferred his experience in and method of animating trainees from Botswana to Bangladesh.

The drama collective of the Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria in northern Nigeria was commissioned by the Benue State Arts Council to organise a rural popular theatre workshop. The workshop was run in three villages. Kidd was invited as a resource person to this workshop. His team went to Igyura, a small village eight miles away from Gboko. In this workshop a new dimension in organising popular theatre for development was opened up. Instead of the usual method of the participants collecting information about the community's difficulties and withdrawing back to their workshop centre to analyse the data collected and create the plays for a later performance for the villagers, they remained with the villagers, analysed the data with them and improvised the plays with them. Focus was put on the process of improvisation, repeatedly revising the drama in the light of a constant critical debate, rather than on achieving finished performances. The improvisation process represented an attempt to adapt some of the ideas of Augusto Boal to the Nigerian situation. The farmers became the co-creators of the performances and the players, and theatre became the medium through which they analysed their situation, the possibilities for action, and the implications of each line of action.

Furthermore, in August 1983, the Zimbabwean government organised a three-week theatre for development workshop to orient its development cadres and consolidate their ideas in using popular theatre for conscientisation and mobilisation of the masses for development projects. Ross Kidd was one of the popular theatre resource persons from nineteen African countries who exchanged experiences and collaborated to run the workshop. The workshop participants were divided into smaller groups. Each group was headed by a theatre resource person. Ross Kidd led one group. Many of his group members were theatre directors and the rest of them were cultural workers. None of them had used popular theatre in an educational process. Kidd, being the only person knowledgeable in applying popular theatre for rural education, adapted the training approach developed in Botswana whose basic idea was that theatre for social animation should be learned as a practical process in a community. He also drew experiences from the Benue theatre workshop in Nigeria and the Zimbabwean people's theatre for liberation struggle to carry out the workshop. At the end of the workshop, the development cadres had learned organisational skills in theatre for development, but these skills had to be reinforced by further training and constant field practice; the inhabitants of Muchinjike, where the workshop took place, became self-confident because they had realised that their contributions were useful to the workshop process. The other resource persons from Africa also learnt to use theatre as a medium for development.

Ross Kidd assumed the post of advisor to the Canadian International Development Agency on Water Education for Health in Ghana. In September, 1986, he organised an interactive drama training workshop for extension workers in Nandom, in the Upper West Region of Ghana. Another purpose of this workshop was to develop a methodology of using drama as a medium to educate rural peasants on water-borne diseases. He adapted Augusto Boal's image theatre or "sculpting" to the Nandom situation. He trained extension workers to use sculpting to express an idea. This is a non-verbal dramatic technique in which participants are placed into a tableau as an educational tool to express a conception. The image theatre was adapted as an alternative to charts which extension workers had the problem of producing accurately for purposes of explaining the cycle of disease transmission. During the workshop, Ross Kidd evolved his own two methods of using drama for water education. These methods were "paired role-playing" and "storytelling drama and stop-start drama".[26]

Ross Kidd not only worked extensively in running popular theatre workshop projects but also wrote profusely about it, most of which he published. He also contributed papers such as "A History of People's Theatre: Legitimation and Resistance in the Pre-Colonial, Colonial, and Post-Colonial Third World" to an international conference on the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica, May 1980 and "People's Theatre, Adult Education and Social Change in the Third World" to an international seminar on the use of indigenous social structures and traditional media in non-formal education and development in Berlin, in November, 1980. There were many others which he presented to international seminars.

Ross Kidd has indubitably demonstrated that he is not only a prolific writer of popular theatre reports but also a reputable popular theatre organiser in international circles. It is, therefore, not out of place to synthesise his theatre projects' reports into a theory. In summary, in terms of popular theatre, Ross Kidd is to Africa and some other Third World countries as Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal are to Latin American countries.

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[26] Ross Kidd. *Field Paper No. 7.* Interactive Drama Training Workshop, Nandom, September, 1986, pp. 11-13.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY BOTSWANA WORKSHOPS

In the early Botswana workshops, development workers and/or theatre workers either put on didactic plays for villagers or invited community leaders and extension workers to identify village problems. After the development workers and/or theatre workers had collected the data, they retreated to their workshop centre, developed an open-ended play and returned to the village and put it on for the villagers; after the performance, they discussed its resolution with the audience.

Before dealing with the analysis of Ross Kidd's popular theatre activities, one needs to understand the economic, geographical, political and social conditions in which he worked. Botswana, where Ross Kidd made his mark in the field of popular theatre, is a former British Protectorate under indirect British imperial government rule till 1966. Unlike its neighbouring states, Botswana was neglected in terms of development by the imperial government. One of the contributing factors to this lack of interest in developing Botswana's economy was that Botswana was regarded to be a barren country with almost three-quarters of its land covered by the "Kgalagadi", erroneously called Kalahari desert sands. The explorers and the imperial government alike saw no prospects in investing or settling in Botswana. The recent discoveries and exploitation of large deposits of minerals must have come as a surprise to many people.

The British government only used Botswana as a buffer zone. The main reason of declaring Botswana its Protectorate was simply because it wanted to protect its route from the Cape to the northern part of Africa. The occupation of Mozambique in the east and Angola in the west of Botswana by the Portuguese imperial government was a threat to the British adventure into the northern part of Africa. The main fear was that the two Portuguese colonies would block the envisaged route if they expanded and occupied Botswana.

At Botswana's independence on 30th September, 1966, it was one of the poorest countries in Africa. The majority of the people were still illiterate or without any formal education. Education during this time was regarded as a means of advancing into the highest echelons of society or money economy. While the capitalist relations of production were dominating the economic system, they, in fact, co-existed with the feudal mode of production. The overwhelming rural population depended on agriculture for a livelihood, practising the traditional subsistence method of farming. To make matters worse, beef production was the mainstay of the economy in terms of output and export earning, but both arable and livestock agriculture had been ravaged by severe drought in 1967/68 and 1971/72 before Ross Kidd arrived in Botswana. As a result of the introduction of money economy, most Botswana men between the ages of 20 and 40 migrated to the South African mines to sell their labour. This migration had adverse implications on the economy of Botswana. The migration also meant that women remained dominating the agricultural sector in rural areas. It also had a negative impact on the development of human resource in Botswana. For instance, the migrants were the youth of Botswana who could easily till the land but their departure left only the aged men and women to manage the households and farms. Naturally, the aged men and women being too old and weak could not do much farming so that they would have surplus to send to the market for sale.

In spite of the foregoing problems, high temperatures and low, erratic rainfall resulted in low average yields in arable production. Arable agriculture had seldom produced sufficient food for Botswana's needs. Consequently, demand for basic grains from the government increased. In 1974, the seriousness of poverty that existed in Botswana could not be doubted. Particularly, Bukalanga, generally called Bokalaka by the Setswana speaking people, an area of north-eastern Botswana, was hard hit. This was where Ross Kidd started his popular theatre activities.

Bukalanga was thinly populated with scattered settlements unlike the other parts of the country. The result of its scattered settlement pattern, the severe poverty, "high mobility of the population and feelings of government neglect", was that the people became indifferent about community action.[1] They relied on government to provide improvements and services such as relief feeding, health services, village water supply and primary schools. They also refused to attend talks by extension workers.

Extension workers are the nation-wide network of community-level workers who carry out adult education for district councils. They concentrate on a number of social concerns, including family welfare, education, nutrition, health care, family planning, sanitation and agriculture. The extension workers put on skits and puppet plays to put across their respective development messages and motivate participation in development programmes.

This mode of theatre did not, however, seem to revitalise community interest and induce participation and collective action. Extension workers tended to be more concerned with providing services and disseminating information than stimulating the community people to participate in their own development. Their messages were based on what they thought was good for the people rather than local appraisal of the needs and demands. They seldom coordinated their activities or messages. Thus, they held separate meetings and preached their individual departmental ideas to a few people, such as prominent farmers.

The audience members were treated as "absorbents" who only sat down to soak in the "liquid" that was poured on them. They were not allowed to contribute to whatever was being told them by the extension workers. With the declining support for village meetings, there were very few opportunities to educate the community as an entire community.

Confronted with the above problems, in 1974 the national office of adult education in Botswana invited Ross Kidd and Martin Byram to assist in the rural development programme of the arid, poverty-stricken area of northern Botswana. It was concerned with the desire "to substitute self-reliance, participation and cooperative action for over-dependence on government and excessive individualism. [These goals] called for means of bringing people together to discuss their problems to agree on change and take collective action"[2]

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[1] Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *A Botswana Case Study: Popular Theatre and Development.*, (Convergence. Vol. X. No. 2. 1977),p. 21.

The refusal to do self-help projects did not come out of a vacuum. Like many African provinces, Bukalanga had a forum which had traditionally been provided by the *Kgotla*, a traditional meeting place in the village, for bringing people together to discuss their difficulties and look for solutions to them. Bukalanga had a traditional administration comprised of chiefs, subchiefs and village headmen, which was responsible for traditional and developmental duties. Apart from holding office of members of the House of Chiefs, chiefs presided over customary courts which handled a good percentage of criminal and civil cases. In Botswana, through its influence at the *Kgotla*, the traditional administration encouraged and supported rural development initiatives especially at the village level. Initially, people organised self-help projects which they called *Ipelegeng*. In *Ipelegeng*, the community members collected sand, fetched water and moulded bricks for the building of schools. The *Kgotla* represented the institution where village consensus could be arrived at and where development initiatives and participation could be encouraged.

After the country attained independence, traditional leaders lost their power to parliamentarians. Government took over the building of schools and provision of other services. The village leaders together with their subjects were ruled by the government through the District Commissioners. Bukalanga was a peculiar case. It was the area of the opposition party- Botswana People's Party. Other parts of the country were developed but Bukalanga was neglected by the government. The neglect was purposely to undermine the opposition party. Later, when the extension workers cried to Bakalanga, the people of Bukalanga, to become involved in self-help projects, the Bakalanga stated that it was the responsibility of the Botswana government to develop all areas of the country. They also felt that the government was exploiting them. Moreover, the traditional leaders felt that their power and importance were undermined and discontinued with the forum.

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[2] Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *A Botswana Case Study: Popular Theatre and Development*. (Convergence. Vol. X. No. 2, 1977),p. 21.

Ross Kidd and Martin Byram felt that there was the need to resuscitate the forum as a major concentration for community decision making and action, and decided to search for a medium which could do this activity. Ross Kidd, who had studied Paulo Freire's pedagogy which is geared towards the liberation of the poor, surveyed the works of the extension workers and realised that although they had put on dramatic sketches in the early 1970s to educate the public on matters related to family planning, family life education, nutrition, health care, sanitation and methods of farming that would maximise crop yields, they did not seem to succeed in achieving their objectives. Ross Kidd analysed the causes for the extension workers' failure in this manner:

> The approach and techniques of extension workers were not suitable since they tended to be more concerned with providing services and information than motivating people for participation; their messages were based on external prescription and activities or messages were seldom coordinated.3

In light of what Ross Kidd felt were the causes for the failure of the extension workers in achieving their goals, he decided to look for a suitable method that would lead to small group discussion and develop a joint inter-agency approach to extension work. He explored alternative methods used in other parts of the world which led him to choose "popular theatre." With popular theatre, community problems could be represented through drama, singing and dancing using the people's own language and mode of expression. He also believed that popular theatre could be used as a catalyst for bringing people together, raising important community issues, involving people in discussing those issues, motivating people to get organised and take action on the problems. The performance

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[3] Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *A Botswana Case Study: Popular Theatre and Development.* (Convergence. Vol. X. No. 2, 1977),pp. 21-22.

would be done on the open-air so that a large number of people, irrespective of social status or education would be involved. Ghana's success in adopting drama to create her "Concert Party" tradition was one important influence and encouraged him to make similar experiment.

The concert party was formed long before Ghana became independent on 6th March, 1957. It is the first form of organised theatre in Ghana. Its fame and constant request by the rural communities for its performances have earned it the title "popular theatre". This medium educates its audience on changes in technology, politics and economy. It also brings on to the stage certain aspects of everyday life and thus makes its fundamental input to drama. Concert party activities include music and dancing, jokes, singing and skits. Its plays are not scripted but contrived around a plot-line that allows the performers to use their own words and clever expressions. The audience identify with the characters on stage, and emotional involvement is sometimes intensive, or even cathartic. Theatre in this manner allows the audience to participate in the actions going on. When the audience is stimulated by the music, its members move, clap their hands, tap or get on their feet and dance. They can even move to the performers and place money on their foreheads. Since the concert party is participatory and uses drama, dance and songs to "mirror" on the stage some aspects of everyday life with the view of making the audience identify itself with the characters and effect change in itself, Ross Kidd chose to adopt it. It was similar to what he intended to do with regard to its use of drama, singing and dancing.

However, the concert party has dissimilarities with popular theatre. The issues used for the concert party are what Ross Kidd calls "external prescription of messages and activities".in his summary of the extension workers' use of theatre above. The concert party organisers do not conduct research in the areas in which they perform for the themes used for the drama. They use problems which they think affect those areas. The audience of a concert party pays admission fees before it is allowed in to watch the performances but popular theatre in Africa has free admission. In view of gate fees, concert party holds its performances indoors but popular theatre can be performed in the open-air. While the popular theatre involves its audience in discussing those issues raised in the drama, the concert party does not. The concert party also does not motivate the people to get organised and take action on the difficulties raised in the presentation as is often done in popular theatre. After the performance, the concert party team packs "bag and baggage" and departs to other performing grounds.

Ross Kidd was also influenced by the Zambian Chikwakwa rural theatre that Michael Etherton had worked with in the 1970s. The Chikwakwa theatre and the Botswanan *Laedza Batanani* have parallels in purpose and method. The objectives of both theatres were developmental. They created plays which dealt with the pre-occupation of the majority of the people and issues relevant to social, economic and cultural environment where the plays were performed. Both theatres used crucial issues and concerns of the communities in which they worked. They both subscribed to the concept of collective creation.

Like *Laedza Batanani*, the Chikwakwa theatre plays presented some social problems such as the new role of women in modern society, conflicts between urban and lower classes, the need for self-reliance and organisation of people, conflicts between rural and urban values. Both theatres worked closely with local developmental projects, such as cooperatives, blood donation campaigns, agricultural projects, the destructive effect on community and family life of migrant labour, cattle theft, health problems, inflation and unemployment, exploitation of women, etc., and discussed the themes of plays with the audiences after the performance. Both theatres were ambulant ones which toured their plays to the villages.[4]

However, a difference between the two theatres existed. Whereas the*Laedza Batanani* had open-ended plays which provided the audiences the oportunity to discuss what endings might be appropriate, the Chikwakwa theatre had close-ended or finished plays which provided resolutions to the problems that were presented in the performance although it also organised a post-performance discussion.

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[4] Ross Kidd, *Liberation or Domestication: Popular Theatre and Non-formal Education in Africa*. (Educational Broadcasting International, March 1979, 12(1):3-9),pp. 6-7.

A further inspiration for Ross Kidd to experiment with popular theatre were the works of Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal in Latin America. There was an important similarity in these two uses of popular theatre. Paulo Freire, Augusto Boal and Ross Kidd used popular theatre for community development and for political purposes.

For instance, as Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal developed new methods of popular education, popular arts and theatre which would express coherently the social, political and cultural aspirations of the popular classes, Ross Kidd also used popular theatre for consciousness awakening of the Zimbabweans to their political reality in 1983. The "pedagogy of the oppressed" of Paulo Freire and the "theatre of the oppressed" of Augusto Boal were both intended to enable the poor to recognise their cultural values and become participants in the creation of their own history and culture.

In the "pedagogy of the oppressed", Paulo Freire denounced the "banking" concept of education. He stated that in this method "the teacher leads the students to memorise mechanically the narrated content..." and that "it turns them into 'containers', into 'receptacles' to be 'filled' by the teacher".[5] Freire suggested the concept of libertarian education where "education must begin with the solution of teacher-student contradiction so that both are simultaneously teacher and students".[6] The banking approach to adult education will never propose to students that they critically consider reality. Libertarian education, in the notion of Paulo Freire, "is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it".[7] The mechanistic concept of consciousness as an empty container to be filled should be eschewed. He suggested that the teacher and student should interact and exchange ideas. In doing so it will afford them to perceive the same object clearly. In order to practise libertarian education, Freire introduced a problem-posing education which "sets itself the task of demythologizing".[8] The problem-posing method does not make the teacher the all-knowing person. He does not consider the outcome of the analysis of potential problems as his own, but as the object of reflection by himself and the student. This process makes the learners or students active participants and critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. "The teacher reconsiders his earlier considerations as the students express their own".[9] Thus, the teacher and the students become co-creators. Freire summed up his theory by saying that

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[5] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* (Continuum Publishing Company, New York, 1989),p..58.

[6] Ibid p. 59.

[7] Ibid. p. 66.

> Authentic education is not carried on by "A" for "B" or by "A" about "B", but rather by "A" with "B", mediated by the world -- a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it.[10]

In the initial trials of problem-posing education, Freire used photographs, posters or slide projections as "codes" to focus and stimulate discussion which he termed decodification. Freire explained a code to be a "concrete existential situation", in other words, a problem; and the coding of an existential situation to be "the representation of that situation, showing some of its constituent elements in interaction".[11] The coding is simply the photograph which conveys the details of the difficulty to be analysed. The decodification is the critical analysis of the coded situation.

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[8] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* (Continuum Publishing Company, New York,1989),p. 71.

[9]. Ibid. , p. 68.

[10]. Ibid., p. 82.

[11]. Ibid., p. 96.

Augusto Boal was much influenced by the people's education methods of Paulo Freire but he chose to use drama instead of photographs, posters, slide projections. As a dramatist, he chose to use drama because he knew the dramatic re-enactment of key issues by people of the community is an even more striking representation of situations because it portrays social roles of power and dependence and is more visually and emotionally concrete. Drama is also a more flexible representation because the portrayal can be immediately changed and refined by the participating audience.

Boal proposed in his "theatre of the oppressed" different degrees or stages of becoming involved in the "writing" of the scenario of the play. In a first stage, simultaneous dramaturgy, the actor or actress prepared a skit with a theme of social analysis, acted it out to the point that the problem needed a solution and then invited the audience to suggest how the play should be continued. The actor or actress then dramatised what the audience proposed as appropriate endings.[12]

In a second step, image theatre, the participants were each asked to select a personal and community issue and to express it not in words but by directing or "sculpting" the bodily gestures of the actors and actresses so that these gestures expressed a particular opinion or difficulty.[13]

The third method was forum theatre. The group of participants was asked to tell a story which expressed the human drama of the conditions of the poor. Then a 10-15 minute skit based on the story was improvised, the audience discussed whether the play really expressed the problem and proposed a solution. Members of the audience entered into the play as performers and led the rest of the audience in the direction that seemed most accurate to the person who made the proposal.[14]

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[12]. Augusto Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed.* (Theatre Communications Group, New York, 1985), p. 132.

[13]. Ibid. p. 135.

Boal experimented with a number of other methods of theatre which stressed the incompleteness of action in the play and which conceived of drama as a rehearsal for seeking solutions to problems in real life.

Having explored the different approaches to theatre used by the Ghana concert party, the Chikwakwa in Zambia, Paulo Freire, and Augusto Boal, Ross Kidd used the Freirean approach of using photographs, drawings and slide projections of community difficulties for analysis in a literacy programme in Botswana.[15] However, Ross Kidd's approach of using socio-drama was a medley of all the popular theatre methodologies that he had studied. Socio-drama mixed with discussion provided the opportunity for people to come together to express their feelings, analyse major problems in the villages and search for solutions to them. He tested with the socio-drama in*Laedza Batanani* which became an annual festival. Popular theatre was first used as a main vehicle for an educational campaign in Botswana in 1974 by Ross Kidd. After trying *Laedza Batanani* programmes for two years in the Bukalanga (Bokalaka) area, the idea was introduced in other parts of the country.

Ross Kidd's first experimental approach to popular theatre took the form of taking theatre to the people. As mentioned above, this form of popular theatre was controlled by the village leaders, the extension workers and the theatre practitioners. The village leaders and the extension workers were invited by the theatre activists to two pre-campaign workshops where they planned the campaign and decided on the issues to be presented at the campaign. They analysed the identified difficulties and selected only those ones they thought were priorities to the villages. Then with the help of the popular theatre organiser, the community leaders and the extension workers improvised performances based on the issues selected and toured the villages from where the problems originated and presented them to the villagers. After each performance, the players and the extension workers held performance discussion with the audience. Ross Kidd applied this procedure from 1974 through 1976.

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[14] Ibid. p. 139.

[15] Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *Popular Theatre and Participation in Development*. (Bosele Tshwaraganag Publications, No. 3),p. 7.

From the above procedure, Ross Kidd's basic stages of methodology of carrying out popular theatre campaigns could be discerned as planning the campaign, identifying community problems, selecting the major ones, analysing them, preparing performances based on the chosen issues, touring the plays to areas from where the difficulties originated and presenting them to the inhabitants of those areas, and organising a post-performance discussion.

The various steps often took place over different lengths of time and had varying degrees of details. As noted above, from 1974 through 1976, Ross Kidd often summoned the extension workers of the area where the popular theatre campaign took place to a first pre-campaign workshop to plan the popular theatre activities and identify issues which fitted in with other extension work to be included in the campaign along with those selected by the community leaders. They worked out a detailed timetable for the campaign and also suggested ways of involving all field workers.

The planning stage was followed by a community workshop at which village leaders and organisations, including traditional leaders, local politicians, village development committee members, field workers, teachers, and church and women's group leaders met and decided on the issues to be presented in the campaign performances and chose the actors and actresses. They worked in small groups and listed the problems concerning village developments, agricultural production, family relationship, value conflicts, consumer issues and other forms of employment. After the groups had identified the difficulties, they met in a plenary session and presented their reports on the problems to the popular theatre organiser who listed them on newsprint. Then he asked them to go back to their various groups and choose the most pressing difficulties in their villages. The workshop participants retired to their various groups and selected those problems they felt were major priorities and met again in a plenary session where they presented them to the theatre organiser. After the theatre resource person had written them on newsprint once more, all the participants decided on a final list which included family conflicts, migrant labour, cattle theft, village development, government land reform proposal, tuberculosis, youth problems, and stray cattle.[16] However, in the 1974 and 1975 *Laedza Batanani* campaigns, the issues chosen were so many that the performances created out of these issues overshadowed the objectives of the campaigns. As a result, in 1976 an attempt was made to select fewer, more patent, and more genuine objectives. In order to accomplish this, participants were requested to choose three problems which they thought *Laedza Batanani* could help to change in their communities. The experience of each year helped the resource persons to develop a more precise and realistic organisation of the popular theatre campaign. Criteria used for the selection included:

> Small/modest -- start with something simple which individuals or groups can do.
>
> Problems which the community (not government) can solve e.g. not the issue of unpaid headmen since this can only be solved by government.
>
> Something concrete, specific (e.g. 'neglect of traditional practices is too general)
>
> Things that individuals or individual families or groups can do (e.g. large infrastructural projects which require the whole community should not be selected but left for village development committees).

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[16] Ross Kidd Martin Byram and Petra Rhor-Rouendaal, *Organising Theatre, the Laedza Batanani Experience 1974-1977*. (Gaborone, Botswana, May 1978),p. 16.

Things that can be linked to the regular work of extension agents.[17]

Using this basis for the selection of the priority problems, in 1976 the groups chose health education on venereal disease, tuberculosis, and child care, sanitation and personal hygiene, and others such as cookery, nutrition, and vegetable gardening.

From the final list of problems, each group took one and studied it thoroughly. They made a list of information on what the villagers knew about the issue, their attitudes and practice about it. Then all the groups improvised short drama skits based on their difficulties and performed them for the others who observed the performance as audience and critics. Through the acting out of these skits, the popular theatre organiser identified potential performers.

After the community workshop, the actors' workshop came on. This workshop was attended by the performers who were selected during the community workshop. The aim of the actors' workshop was to train them as actor-animators and to help them study the campaign problems in detail and also devise drama skits, puppet plays, dances and songs. However, in the 1974 and 1975 campaigns, dance was not part of the performative arts. The village leaders introduced it in 1975 for the sake of entertainment. It attracted a large number of people to the performing grounds and maintained their attention throughout the performance. Encouraged by this, Ross Kidd included it as one of the performative arts of the popular theatre campaign in 1976.

The performers analysed the selected problems by investigating all of the factors that prevented the villagers from solving them and also those factors which fostered change. The performers analysed the issues in terms of their understanding of the villagers' knowledge of these difficulties and what the villagers did about them just as how the community workshop participants did. This analysis helped them to clarify messages and decide which of these issues could be dealt with and how that could be done as an initial step to "writing" the drama, puppet play, dance and songs. For example, in 1976 sanitation was one of the problem areas to be dealt with. The workshop participants decided to get rid of fly-borne disease in the Bukalanga area. When it was analysed in detail, the construction of pit toilets was rejected because the majority of families in the area were poor and the homes were scattered. However, the digging of trenches by families and the burying of faeces were encouraged. For the drama, all of the players were divided into small groups. Each group chose one problem and worked out its sequence of situations. For example, the skit about the venereal disease had scenes about the lover, contracting venereal disease, the diagnosis of the diseased man, treatment , a scene in which he was shown persuading his lover to go for treatment, a clinic scene of the lover, treatment scene of the lover, and a celebration of treatment scene as its sequence of situations. Then each group made a story about every situation and linked all the situations together into a continuous story. Next, all performers improvised their lines. They also developed their own dialogue, gestures and action in relation to each other and the audience. The improvisation made it much easier for others in the theatre team to replace players who fell ill since there were no scripts to be memorised.[18]

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[17]. Martin Byram, Alan Etherington and Ross Kidd, *Report on Laedza Batanani 1976*, (Bosele Tshwaraganang Publications, No. 5), p. 2.

When the players had finished contriving their drama skits, they all gathered together and each group performed its play to the other participants as was done in the community workshop. The participants who watched the performance made criticisms, such as: the story was not suitable, the group needed to add roles, performers needed to be switched over, etc. The criticised group replayed the skit and included the suggestions given until the other groups agreed that the skit was the true reflection of the issue.

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[18]. Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *A Botswana Case Study: Popular Theatre and Development.* (Convergence, Vol. X. No. 2. 1977),p. 24.

Despite the fact that drama was the major medium for presenting the festival issues, there were other traditional performative media, such as dancing, puppetry and singing to reinforce it. For example, in 1976 each campaign issue was presented through a combination of drama, singing, dancing and puppetry. Puppetry was first used in 1974 to entertain children while the adult audience gathered. It was so popular in the 1974 popular theatre campaign that it was included as one of the performative media for presenting some of the main messages in the subsequent theatre campaigns. The puppet plays were improvised using the same procedure as the drama. The players agreed on a sequence of situations and created their dialogue and movements. Ross Kidd taught his actor-animators the techniques of making hand puppets.[19]

Next, was the composing of songs. Songs were used to emphasise the major campaign messages. They were also used to stimulate audience participation and to convey messages that otherwise would not have been talked about for fear of victimisation. An example of such messages was a folk song in the 1974 festival. It was composed by the villagers who felt that the court fine that was imposed on a cattle thief was incommensurate with the crime he committed. The song was sung to taunt the local policemen and chiefs that "it pays to be a cattle thief" and that "cattle theft was an honourable profession."[20]. In most African countries songs are often used to tease wrong-doers to reform.

Performers composed songs in groups either by using new tunes or by fitting new words to old tunes. A local song composer was also invited and he composed many of the songs. Most of the songs were "call and response" ones, in which a lead singer sang a line and then the rest of the singers joined in, and repeated the same line. With respect to this way of singing, it was necessary to have more than one lead singer so that when the principal lead singer was absent, the other could easily take over. "In 1976 the actors never learned the words. So they had to read the words from pieces of paper, which made it difficult to hear and looked bad".[21] Thus, in the subsequent *Laedza Batanani* campaigns, performers learnt the songs off hand.

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[19]. Ross Kidd, Martin Byram and Petra Rohr-Rouendaal, *Organising Popular Theatre, the Laedza Batanani Experience 1974-1977*. (Gaborone, Botswana, May 1978),p. 22.

[20]. Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *A Botswana Case Study: Popular Theatre and Development*. (Convergence, Vol. X. No. 2, 1977),p. 24.

As in most African countries, in Botswana songs are accompanied by dances. An experienced traditional dancer was invited to create the dances for the campaign. He formulated a story for each theme and created the dances. After he had made the dances he taught some of the team members how to dance them. In many African countries, dance is equally used as a traditional performative art to express certain ideas. For instance, in Ghana *"Adowa,"* which is a traditional *Akan* dance, is sometimes danced to express either love or hatred. Another example of such dances in Africa is the hunter's dance whereby the hunter dances to demonstrate how he either overcame a wild animal and killed it or how he had to flee for his dear life when the animal attacked him.

After the workshop participants had improvised all the performances based on the selected issues, they met and rehearsed them for one or two days before they undertook the campaign tour. During this time they worked out a daily schedule. This timetable helped to ensure that everyone knew what was required of them. In the 1974 and 1975 campaigns the schedule was crowded with a lot of activities which ran down the performers' strength and vitality. For instance, the daily schedule was comprised of two separate performances in each village, such as: "an evening programmes of films and community presentations and on the following morning a programme of live theatre and community discussion".[22]

This heavy schedule not only allowed the performers little leisure time and caused tension among them but also made unreasonable demands on the peasants who had to travel long distances to attend the performances. Moreover, since the popular theatre campaign was held during the farming season and morning was the busiest time for farmers, few people attended both performances. In consequence, in 1976 the daily activities were reduced so that there was one continuous presentation of live theatre and discussion in the late afternoon and a film show in the evening in each area. This adjusted schedule allowed the performers enough time for relaxation and improved upon the attendance of the peasants at the presentations.

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[21]. Ross Kidd, Martin Byram and Petra Rohr-Rouendaal, *Organising Popular Theatre, the Laedza Batanani Experience 1974-1977.* (Gaborone, Botswana, May 1978),p. 23.

[22]. Martin Byram, Alan Etherington and Ross Kidd, *Report on Laedza Batanani 1976.* (Bosele Tshwaraganang Publications No. 5),p.7.

When the performers had had sufficient rehearsal, they prepared for the performance in the villages. As regards performance techniques, Ross Kidd told them to speak louder and one at a time, especially the puppet manipulators. They should face the audience while they spoke and should stop speaking when the audience was laughing. Those who waited to get on to the stage should listen keenly for their entrance cues and make sure that the properties required by them for use on stage were within reach.[23]

On the performance day, the audience was seated in a semi-circle near the stage area. The team leader explained to the spectators the purpose of the campaign and reminded them about a post-performance discussion session which required their participation. He introduced all performers and each presentation to the audience. The drama skits, puppet plays, songs, and dances were interspersed. In doing so the performances were diversified and kept lively and interesting throughout the duration of the presentation. The audience was invited to take part in the dancing, singing, clapping hands, and at certain times, encouraged to participate in acting. For example, in 1974, four members of the audience were briefed to react angrily to an accusation in a court trial that they were lovers of a miner's wife.

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[23]. Ross Kidd, Martin Byram and Petra Rhor-Rouendaal, *Organising Popular Theatre, the Laedza Batanani Experience 1974-1977.* (Gaborone, Botswana, May 1978), p. 31.

Later, Ross Kidd dealt with post-performance discussion techniques. According to him, "Discussion is the most important part of the programme because it forms a bridge between the presentation of the problems and community action to solve them".[24] The discussion forming a bridge between the two necessarily makes it the most important aspect of the programme because popular theatre expresses incompleteness, and consequently does not suggest solutions to the problems it presents. It is, therefore, only through the group discussions that solutions are reached by the audience arriving at them by a consensus, which binds the audience to take action to resolve the problems. Besides, unless the performers are able to stimulate the audience emotionally or spiritually by their good performance, the discussion will be the best process through which the audience will respond imaginatively and creatively to the pressures and problems raised in the presentations. Ross Kidd considered all actor-animators to be discussion leaders. A few other extension workers and teachers were briefed to lead group discussions. As soon as the performance was over the actors and actresses and other discussion leaders moved immediately into the audience and divided it into smaller groups for the post-performance discussion.[25] This was an improvement because in 1975, in a village called Nkange, there was a long break between the last performance and the post-performance discussion which caused the spectators to disperse.[26]

The basic questions asked by discussion leaders included "What problems did we see in the performance which we have in our village?" and "How can we solve these problems?"[27] Each discussion group had a player as a secretary who recorded the deliberations. After discussing for a while, the audience, performers and other discussion leaders regrouped at the performance area. Then the discussion leaders submitted their reports on the discussion. It was followed by an open discussion led by a chairperson. The audience participated in this discussion. The chairperson got everyone in the plenary session to democratically arrive at a decision by consensus to take action to transform their difficult situations. The discussion was brief and sustained the interest of the audience throughout the session. During the discussion session two or three performers organised a programme of dancing, singing, and puppetry to engage the children.

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[24]. Ross Kidd, Martin Byram and Petra Rhor-Rouendaal, *Organising Popular Theatre, the Laedza Batanani Experience 1974-1977.* (Gaborone, Botswana, May 1978), p. 34.

[25]. Ibid. p. 34.

[26]. Ibid. p. 34.

27. Ibid. p. 34.

In 1976 the team leadership was effective and responsibilities were evenly distributed among the team members. In addition, a daily team meeting was introduced which allowed team members to propose improvements to both the presentations and the logistical arrangements. Handouts, too, were brought in to help reinforce the festival messages. These handouts were simple venereal disease picture-story booklets. The booklets were handed out to the audience during the post-performance discussion. Other improvements included research, follow-up action, and a new method of evaluation. The reduction in the daily activities left the theatre workers sufficient time to conduct research at shops, the clinic, water-pumps, and drinking bars. The purpose of this research was to assess previous years' performances and to investigate whether the campaign issues selected by the community leaders were relevant to the peasants. It also helped to estimate the impact of the *Laedza Batanani* campaign. The research was useful in unveiling certain difficulties, such as the misconception that venereal disease was caused by copulating with a woman who menstruated.

The next innovation was the introduction of a follow-up programme in the 1976 festival. The follow-up action was necessary because the theatre participants had left no organisational base in the villages which would give the peasants the required technical know-how so that they could take collective action to grapple with the issues raised in the presentations. Besides, some of these problems needed technical knowledge before they could be solved. For example, in 1975 people accepted that tuberculosis was a deadly disease in their area and were prepared to eradicate it, but there was no clear decision on what action they would take to do so. Nothing therefore happened after the festival. It is also difficult, if not, impossible for one to be able to change people's attitudes and behaviour in a single performance, and give them the detailed advice and help necessary to cultivate new habits and adopt new techniques from the discussions.

Field workers were trained to handle the follow-up programme. They also received flipchart pictures on venereal disease to be used in group discussion; picture stories on venereal disease and nutrition to be distributed as hand-outs; songs and drama sketches on venereal disease and nutrition; and cooking recipes such as beans and vegetables for demonstration. The programme involved demonstrations and talks on venereal disease and nutrition by family welfare educators and vegetable gardening promotion with seed distribution by agricultural extension workers.

Although evaluation was not a new dimension added to the 1976 festival, it was improved. In the past two years, *Laedza Batanani* was always evaluated in terms of community response at the campaign. However, in 1976 a more well organised endeavour was made. The evaluation methods applied were in two categories of informal and formal. The informal method was based on audience attendance, audience participation, group discussion, reports from field workers and observations. The formal method depended on reports from field workers' questionnaires and medical statistics.

The overall improvements made between 1974 and 1976 could be summarised as: the inclusion of dance and puppetry as performative arts in the 1976 *Laedza Batanani* campaign; the introduction of a basis for selecting salient community problems in 1976; an adjustment of daily schedule which allowed theatre workers sufficient time to conduct research to assess previous years' *Laedza Batanani* campaign performances in 1976; an introduction of an improved method of evaluation and a follow-up action in 1976.

To analyse Ross Kidd's popular theatre activities in Botswana between 1974 and 1976, it would be best to consider the conditions he met when he first arrived there and the objectives he set himself to accomplish. When he arrived at Botswana, the inhabitants of the Bukalanga area had refused to attend community meetings, to work on self-help projects or to attend talks by extension workers. The traditional leaders had also deserted self-reliance and depended on government to provide improvements and new services. The method and techniques of the extension workers were not suitable since they were more inclined in supplying services and information than stimulating their clienteles for participation. Moreover, their messages were based on issues which they felt were pertinent to the peasants. They also worked in isolation from one another instead of coordinating their activities.

To deal with the above problems, Ross Kidd decided "to substitute self-reliance, participation and cooperative action for over-dependence on government and excessive individualism".[28] His aim, therefore, was to get the people of Bukalanga area to participate in an educational process that would arouse their consciousness of their own problems and stimulate them to take joint action to transform the situation.

Ross Kidd, right from the start, succeeded in dealing with the fundamental problem of getting people to come to meetings. By using drama, dance, songs, and puppetry to raise the village issues in an entertaining way, he attracted a large audience and sustained their interest and attention throughout the performances. He also managed to get the traditional leaders, who had stopped convening community meetings because there was a conflict between them and the councillors and who had shunned the extension workers' developmental meetings, to sit together with the extension workers to identify and select the *Laedza Batanani* campaign themes. This was a great achievement. Furthermore, he was able to bring the extension workers of the Ministries of Agriculture, Education and Health, and the Departments of Community Development and Family Planning to coordinate their extension work. The extension workers of these organisations were trained in all the stages of popular theatre process. This training gave the extension workers the technique of contacting the rural peasants for their difficulties to be used for the performances in further popular theatre workshops.

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[28]. Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, A *Botswana Case Study: Popular Theatre and Development*. (Convergence, Vol. X. No. 2, 1977),p. 21.

Participation in popular theatre should involve the villagers at all stages of the popular theatre process. For instance, it means the villagers becoming researchers of their own issues and performers of the presentations; it means drawing a large number of people to the performance whose interest and attention will be maintained throughout the duration of the presentation; it also means mobilising the people to take joint action on the difficulties reflected in the performance. In light of these requirements of participation in popular theatre, the planning of the *Laedza Batanani* festival was exclusively done by the extension workers and the theatre organiser. The community leaders only participated in the identification and selection of the festival's themes, as performers, and in the post-performance discussion. Participation of the audience was limited to singing the campaign's songs, taking part in the post-performance discussion, and in 1974, a few of them took part as actors in the court scene where they were accused as lovers of a miner's wife. If it should be considered that the popular theatre campaign be a community-based activity, then the majority of the people, including the marginalised rural peasants should have been engaged in all the phases of its process, particularly in providing the issues, analysing them, and improvising the performances. By doing so an organisational base would have been left in each community to continue with the work that had been started by the popular theatre touring team. Although the plays reflected the local situation, the issues raised in them represented the interest of the extension workers and the community leaders who chose them. Difficulties which were of paramount importance to the poor, such as famine, poverty, etc., were not raised. For example, as mentioned above, in 1974 and 1975, the outstanding problems were cattle theft and stray cattle respectively. These issues belonged to the rich and not the poor. Another example occurred in 1976, where the extension workers overinfluenced the village leaders and chose problems, such as nutrition and sanitation as priority ones which were part of their routine work.

Concerning education or critical awareness, very few people understood the process of popular theatre since they were not involved in every stage of the process. Furthermore, the theatre practitioners did not establish any precise technical information as to how certain diseases like bilharzia and tuberculosis could be cured. These technical subjects bring up questions above the knowledge of the village health extension worker and the post-performance discussion can lead to false information. It is, therefore, important that field workers be briefed before they are expected to educate the public on these technical subjects. Learning needed reinforcement but the excitement of the performance took all the attention of the audience, so that it ceased to be a stimulus to whet interest and lead on to another stage of learning in order to act. However, it was useful that in 1976 the festival issues were reduced which limited the number of performances. On the other hand, the use of traditional performative arts demonstrated that popular theatre could bring creative entertainment and an affirmation of cultural identity.

In respect of action, there was a major problem of how to move from the stage of discussion and learning to actual action for transformation. After a popular theatre performance, it was very rare to have action immediately following it. This could be attributed to either inaccurate technical information as regards solutions or lack of understanding of the social and political pressures on individual and collective action for transformation. With reference to inappropriate technical solutions, in 1975 tuberculosis, was one of the principal issues, but there was no clear decision on what action to take. As a result, nothing happened after the campaign. Another instance occurred in 1976 when the district extension team chose poor diet as a priority problem whose solution could only be met by a collaborated approach, involving improved nutrition, home gardens and new cooking methods.

Many of the villagers' difficulties were the product of deep-rooted causes, especially the migrant labour system and the change from traditional to modern rule when the country became independent. During the colonial imperialist supremacy, Botswana became a source of cheap unskilled labour right from the 1890s. This had immensely affected Botswana's society, with about half of the young men working in the South African mines and farms. The absence of the young men from Botswana had reduced the agricultural productivity and interrupted traditional social institutions, particularly chieftainship duties. General issues of the rural peasants, such as poverty and rural umemployment, and explicit ones like drunkenness and extensive venereal disease had their sources in the migrant labour system. Especially, the common character in Ross Kidd's popular theatre workshops performances, who reflected the social consequence of migrant labour, was the miner. He returned from the South African mines , addicted to drinking and flirting. In order to solve these problems, the theatre practitioners should have created a play which would reflect the bringing to an end of the migrant labour system and then contacted the government after the workshop to get rid of it. Without abolishing the migrant labour, for example, the treatment of the venereal disease would not be a lasting solution. The miner in South Africa would still come home infested with the disease to infect women.

There was also a conflict between district councils and chieftainship and the *Kgotla*. The country was in a changing state in which the power of the traditional leaders was being undermined. For example, in1968, the government stripped them of the right to reallocate land. Moreover, the chiefs and their subjects were now ruled by the government through the politicians who derived their personal power from the chiefs. This struggle for authority led to indifference and passivity in the villages, with people neither attending *Kgotla* meetings nor development committee meetings.

These two instances of social and political constraints allude to the elaborate historical geneses of several issues. Most often the popular theatre process remained at a shallow level of analysis, and this has led to false decisions for action which did not take into consideration what could really be changed in the villages. The popular theatre activists had also focused on forms of action, such as cooperation and voluntary contributions of labour, and disregarded the destroyed traditional system which had now given way to increased individualism and regard for remunerative gains. It was, therefore, not appropriate to expect joint action for transformation when indigenous leadership was both uncertain and conflicting.

In light of the above, the popular theatre activists did not give sufficient attention to indigenous authority so that they could analyse which difficulties would or would not accept change. What was required was a more authentic understanding of the guidelines of change and the elements that would bring change. For example, it would be wrong to think that the acquisition of more knowledge could, of itself, transform a difficult situation. A person might have fully understood the advantage of eating nutritious food but might not have had the means to provide it. His inability to make provision for it could have been the product of the migrant labour which had sent his able-bodied son away to the South African mines and left him old, weak and unable to work to provide for himself the nutritious foods. His inability to eat nutritious foods, therefore, could have been a deep-rooted social cause rather than lack of knowledge and understanding.

As Ross Kidd realised through his constant evaluation of his workshops and from his peers' evaluation of his workshop reports, popular theatre requires a long-term context in its objective of action and change. His popular theatre campaign had tended not to be profound in its approach and it is quite impossible for a single performance and discussion in each village to cause a sudden change. It would be useful if popular theatre practitioners focus more on the research, problem analysis, and the improvisation of the performances with clear understanding of the historical sources of community issues and possibilities for change. To be able to do this, the guidelines for choosing the crucial issues, which should be improvised as performances would have to be improved. Another way of encouraging the peasants to take collective action for change is by applying popular theatre repeatedly after each workshop in the villages in order to deepen the problem-analysis of implementing action proposals. Thus, with Ross Kidd's failure to comply with the above, he could not achieve all the goals he had set for himself in his initial popular theatre workshops.

CHAPTER TWO

REVISED STRATEGIES IN BOTSWANA

As soon as Ross Kidd had concluded with the early workshops in Botswana, he evaluated their results and discovered two major hindrances, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. First, he realised that the community leaders who had participated in the identification and selection of the principal issues for the *Laedza Batanani* campaign were the rich and influential people in the villages. As a result, the problems chosen represented their interests. For example, as in the *Laedza Batanani* festival of 1974, cattle theft was selected as a priority issue of the communities. This could not have been a major difficulty in the villages because a large number of the villagers were poor and could not afford to have cattle.

The second shortcoming was that in the 1976 festival in Mochudi, the choice of salient problems was lopsided. The extension workers dominated the community leaders and selected issues that were related to their daily routine work.

In order to overcome the above constraints to his theatre process, he stopped the extension workers and the village heads from identifying and choosing priority problems. In this second phase of popular theatre Ross Kidd was contemplating, he turned to the method of interviewing individuals or groups of people in their homesteads about their difficulties. In doing so the views and opinions of all categories of people within the communities, rich or poor, were collected. Since the inception of popular theatre in Botswana, this was the first time a whole community was involved in the research phase. This method of engaging the people in research for information about their hardships was a significant innovation.

In this phase two of Ross Kidd's popular theatre, the theatre workers went into the villages, did research for the villagers' problems and returned to their workshop centre, analysed them and devised the performances based on the selected pressing issues. Then, later, they took these performances back to the communities from where the issues originated and performed them for the community members. After the presentation, the theatre workers organised post-performance discussion of the difficulties reflected in the performances with the audience. As in the preceding chapter, the purpose of the post-performance discussion was to involve the audience in discussing their own problems, to get them agree on changes that required to be made and to motivate them to take collective action to solve the problems.

By 1977, Ross Kidd began experimenting with his new process for popular theatre by using participatory drama for the Basarwa resettlement programme. Participatory drama is a play based on the issues of community members who take part in acting it out and even sometimes participate in its creation.

The Basarwa were in the past referred to as "Bushmen" of the "Kalagadi" desert. They had lived in the Ghanzi Farm Block in Botswana for 50 years at the time Ross Kidd organised his popular theatre activities. They were "cattle-workers and squatters".[1] Neither the cattle nor the ranches on which they lived belonged to them. The cattle owners to whom the ranches belonged refused to permit them to either cultivate crops or raise their own cattle on the ranches. The Basarwa virtually lived on rations from their cattle owners and milk from the cattle they tended.

The Basarwa having realised that they were being exploited by their masters, became enthusiastic about getting their own land. An investigation conducted by the government determined that the cattle workers needed their own land to avoid the exploitation of their cattle owners. Consequently, the government allotted land for them and provided pipe-borne water and other basic social amenities, such as schools and a clinic. However, the development of these communities and the maintenance of the social amenities were solely the responsibility of the Basarwa. This was a new difficult situation for the Basarwa. They had to find their own resources to meet the cost of development and maintenance.

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[1]. Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *Popular Theatre and Participation in Development: three Botswana case studies* (Bosele Tshwaraganang Publications, No. 3), p.4.

With respect to these impending problems, the government organised educational workshops to acquaint them with the situation that existed in their new environment. The workshops also offered them the opportunity to meet with each other since they lived in different ranches and did not know one another. These workshops tended to make the Basarwa passive listeners rather than active participants contributing to seek solutions to their imminent difficulties. The workshops, therefore, failed to motivate them to think analytically about the problems ahead of them and find ways of resolving them. In response to this failure, Ross Kidd used participatory drama as a much more potent medium "to stimulate the Basarwa to respond" imaginatively and creatively "to the pressures and problems of the situation".[2]

He decided to use drama because the Basarwa were quite conversant with storytelling and dance dramas. Ross Kidd considered that they could "use their own cultural tools to understand and deal with the rapid change in their situation."[3]

He cast some of his performers as the Basarwa and another two played the parts of government officials. He then organised a workshop which involved the Basarwa who sat in a circle in their new settlement with a fire in the middle. The performers who represented the Basarwa came into the middle of the circle and demonstrated "the background context" with drama "according to an agreed plot worked out beforehand".4 The players talked about what they could do to be able to buy diesel for their water-pump engine and maintain it. Each performer gave his or her views and opinions. Some time later, the perfomers who stood in for the government officials arrived and told the Basarwa that the government was not prepared to provide them rations and diesel for their water-pump engine. On a number of occasions the government officials repeated the government's unwillingness to assist them and then left the scene.

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[2]. Martin L. Byram and Ross Kidd, *The Performing Arts : Culture as a Tool for Development in Botswana* (Botswana Notes and Records, Volume 10,1978),p. 87.

[3]. Ibid. p. 87.

[4]. Ibid. p. 87.

As the Basarwa's hopes and expectations were thwarted by the government officials, they thought of alternative ways of grappling with their situation. As in Augusto Boal's forum theatre, the actors and actresses created situations depicting the problems and how they might overcome them and acted the situations out for correction or approval from the audience. Any audience member who was not satisfied with what had been enacted entered into the play and dramatised his or her suggestion in the direction that seemed most appropriate to him or her. The theatre organisers who stood by either participated in the drama as government officials or gave suggestions to other members of the audience to dramatise them.

In order to analyse Ross Kidd's participatory drama workshop it would be useful to do so under the following basis: his basic stages of organisation; whether the performance reflected the issues from the Basarwa's perspective; how much the Basarwa were involved in acting out the problems; and whether he had accomplished the goals he had set himself.

The basic steps Ross Kidd used in organising the programme were problem identification, problem analysis, codification (putting the problems into a code or drama), presentation of drama, discussion of performance, and action.

In his own words, "the drama starts according to an agreed plot worked out beforehand".5 Since he had problem identification as his first organisational step, the agreed plot worked out beforehand then could either imply that he interviewed the Basarwa for their difficulties and retreated to his workshop centre, analysed them and made the plot-

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[5]. Martin L. Byram and Ross Kidd, *The Performing Arts: Culture as a Tool for Development in Botswana*. (Botswana Notes and Records, Volume 10, 1978), p.87.

line on which the drama was based; or that he selected the issue because it was obvious among all Batswana without consulting the Basarwa. Whichever method he used, it still represented popular theatre whose plays were improvised without the participation of the people concerned in its research, analysis and improvisation of the performances. This process of running popular theatre is similar to the methodology applied by the ambulant theatre groups in the Third World countries which created their plays and toured them to urban slums and rural communities for audience.

However, it is worth remarking that after the background drama, for thefirst time since the introduction of popular theatre in Botswana, Ross Kidd had given the audience the mandate to participate in acting out their issues in the drama that followed. This affirmed Augusto Boal's statement that: "the spectator delegates no power to the character (or actor) either to act or to think in his place; on the contrary, he himself assumes the protagonic role, changes the dramatic action, tries out solutions, discusses plans for change- in short, trains himself for real action".6

The performance reflected the issues from the perspective of the Basarwa and deepened their understanding of their own problems. It also engaged them as performers, audience, discussion members, and co-creators of the second drama. In contrast, the inhabitants of the new community were not given the organisational base which would goad them on to take collective action to solve their problems.

Although the workshop demonstrated its potential and superiority over the popular theatre workshop in the preceding chapter, its success in terms of action cannot be determined. There was no follow-up action to ensure that the people kept to their consensus to collectively work to solve the difficulties raised in the drama.

After the participatory drama, Ross Kidd used popular theatre in literacy work in Botswana in 1978. He was inspired by Paulo Freire's work in Brazil and Chile. Paulo

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[6]. Augusto Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed* (Urizen Books, New York, 1979), P.122

Freire used pictures to stimulate discussion. Ross Kidd felt that Paulo Freire's method was particularly required in Botswana where there was little community effort to develop their areas, low participation in public meetings to discuss problems affecting the communities, indifference to government rural development programmes, and mass illiteracy.

Freire used sketches or photographs as codes or drama. For example, if in an environment a child's face was eaten by rats, the face would be photographed and the picture used to stimulate discussion Freire used the codes for his literacy students to decode (analyse).

Ross Kidd applied this method of education in Botswana and discovered that it was inappropriate as an educational tool for the people. The photographs did not arouse the Batswana into discussion. In several cases, the photographs did not have a clear depiction of what they were intended to convey. Moreover, they were taken somewhere without the participation of the people.

Because of the inability of the literacy workshop participants to interpret the constituent elements of the photographs, Ross Kidd added storytelling as a catalyst for discussion. He believed that the stories which dealt with "fictitious yet realistic situations" familiar to participants would give them stimulus for analysis of their similar problems.[7] With the addition of storytelling, he thus turned back to the methodology of researching the people's difficulties and retreating to his workshop centre to analyse them and create the performances for the people. Ross Kidd and his theatre workers wrote problem-stories about the selected difficulties using the villagers' direct expressions they got from the research. They read the stories to the villagers when they returned to the areas where the issues originated. The reading was followed by group discussion. The literacy animators or the theatre workers drew pictures of important incidents in the problem-stories on flipcharts to focus and facilitate discussion.

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[7]. Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, *Popular Theatre and Participation in Development: three Botswana case studies (Bosele Tshwaraganang Publications, No. 3),P. 8*

The literacy animators devised the plays based on the problem-stories about tuberculosis, malnutrition, sanitation, and over-drinking and performed them for the public at the *Kgotla*.. Through dramatisation, they were able to recruit many illiterates as participants and the literate folk who could be trained as literacy animators.

When Ross Kidd added storytelling to the photographs, the theatre workers conducted research for specific difficulties in the target villages before they devised the problem-stories. Thus, there was a first contact with the potential audience in the research phase before there was a contact with them during the presentation of the problem-stories.

During the research for the issues to create the problem-stories, a cross-section of people in the target communities was informally interviewed without regard to their social status. Thus, the information collected was representative of a majority of the rural peasants' views and opinions. This method of conducting research for pressing issues in the rural areas was better than community leaders and extension workers who chose the problems in a community workshop. This change in acquiring villagers' knowledge of difficulties to be used for popular theatre themes was an improvement.

Similar to popular theatre phase one, the analyses of the issues obtained from the research were inadequate because they took the perspective of the theatre workers. The extension workers who were Ross Kidd's theatre workers were civil servants and formed part of the country's educated elite. They were considered as outsiders by the rural peasants in the communities where they worked and this was often strengthened by their professional attitudes in carrying out their departmental extension work. In view of this, because of their vital role in the popular theatre process, their professional attitudes played an enormous part in shaping the content and the enactment of the plays. Besides, as outsiders to the villages from where the difficulties were obtained, they could not have clear insight into the varying complexity of each difficulty as the villagers knew it to be. With respect to this situation, the villagers should have been included in analysing their own problems. After all, as the Kusasis in Ghana say, he who is constipated is the right person to tell what he has eaten and how he feels about it. No person can rightly do so in his stead.

Furthermore, the theatre workers or the literacy animators wrote the "problem-stories" without involving the villagers. This was a similar method used in the popular theatre workshop in the previous chapter. The exclusion of the community members from analysing the problems and creating the "problem-stories" hindered them from acquiring skills for future use. Hence, they would always have to rely on outside knowledgeable popular theatre experts for analyses of their problems and the improvisation of the performances. On the whole, the peasants' participation was limited to the research work, the dramatisation and the post-performance discussion. Besides, the production of a flipchart picture would not be as exact as the problem would be.

Although the literacy animators presented drama to motivate community participation, it is not clear whether or not the community took collective action to transform their difficulties since there was no follow-up action as in the preceding participatory drama workshop. Moreover, it would be superficial to assume that the villagers gained knowledge from a single literacy workshop. However, the major development in this workshop was the introduction of the research phase.

In 1978, the experimental phase of popular theatre in Botswana ended when the National Inter-agency Popular Theatre Committee organised a national popular theatre workshop in May. This workshop represented the highest point of four years of experimental work in theatre for development in Botswana. The two-week national workshop brought together representatives from all extension agencies from all over the country. It was organised to orient participants to the process and skills involved in running popular theatre programmes.

As "theatre-for-development" is a process, to be able to acquire its skills, the process must be learnt gradually from its first stage to its finish. Participants of the workshop were taught skills of community research for issues and problems of the targeted community members, problem analysis, drama-making, theatre skills, performance organisation, discussion leadership, evaluation, and follow-up action. The teaching of these skills was the responsibility of Ross Kidd and his colleagues. The training was in relation to practical work in the form of carrying out small village-based theatre for development projects.

The participants of the workshop were divided into a number of working groups. Each group was assigned a popular theatre expert as its leader. Every group was allotted a village to interview its inhabitants for their concerns and issues to be used as the popular theatre themes. Each group spent a day in its assigned village. They worked in pairs, one being the interviewer and the other the recorder. They made pre-arranged interviews with all inhabitants of their target villages, regardless of the villagers' social status and reported back the following day at the workshop centre and analysed the research data and the process used in obtaining it for three or four days. Then, they applied the same criteria that were propounded for the 1976 *Laedza Batanani* campaign as the basis for selecting the most pressing problems of the villagers.

Once the major problems were identified, the participants worked in smaller groups and used the same process as in the preceding popular theatre phase, and made further detailed analysis of each issue and clarified objectives with help from their resource persons. They "brainstormed" all of the factors which hindered the villagers from change as well as those that fostered change by exploring the existing knowledge, attitudes and practice of community members as regards the principal issues chosen.

The data obtained from the analysis were then used to formulate the content of the drama. Each group selected its theme, then worked out a sequence of situations or created a story about it and improvised their own lines. They developed their dialogue using the villagers' language and idiom. Popular theatre speaks to the marginalised people in their language and idiom. Fortunately, Botswana has a national language called Setswana which every Batswana understands and speaks.

The improvised plays did not suggest solutions to the problems they presented. These incomplete plays allowed the villagers the opportunity to challenge the validity of the presentations and suggested more likely solutions to the difficulties.

During the improvisation of the drama, the process involved more discussions, eliminations and addition of certain parts of the dialogue. Several plenary sessions were called of all the various groups during this time where they performed their plays and received a critique from the other groups. Criticism was focused on the relevance of a play to the problems of the villagers, and its capacity to hold an audience.

As soon as the critiquing was finished, participants were taught the skills of organising a performance. To run a workshop, community leaders and the extension workers should be involved to take charge of publicity. They could publicise the programme through *Kgotla* meetings and posters. Publicity on the day of performance should be carried out by the performers going around the village in a vehicle, announcing the performance using a loud hailer. Another way by which the theatre workers could publicise the programme was to beat their drums and sing around the village on the day of the performance, as is done in the northern parts of Ghana and even by the Ghana concert parties, when touring the country.

While the performers go around to announce the perfomance, the backdrop for the drama which could be a piece of painted canvas and a puppet stage should be set up within the place where the villagers often converged for their meetings. The direction of the wind, sun, and the audience position should be taken into account when the stage is being built. This was an improvement over the previous years. For example, in 1977, in one village, the drama backdrop was set up at a wrong angle in relation to where the audience sat. The players on stage did not fully face the audience and this made it difficult to control noisy people at the back of the crowd. The production was seriously affected.

With respect to organisation of logistical support, Ross Kidd realised after the 1974 and 1975 *Laedza Batanani* campaigns that due to poor arrangement of these aspects the performances were adversely affected. As a result, he improved the organisation of logistical support in the 1976 festival. This innovation made the 1976 festival most successful. Upon this success, he applied the same process of organisation of logistical support during the inter-agency theatre for development workshop.

The jobs that fall within the organisation of logistical support are transporting the team and equipment, consulting with the village headmen and leaders, arranging accommodation, cooking, collecting water and firewood, and so on. A theatre troupe's harmony largely depends on how well these jobs are organised. On the other hand, if the work is not evenly distributed among the troupe members and the food badly cooked confusion will rise within the team and ultimately, the performance will be disrupted.

In light of the above, Ross Kidd prepared a checklist for equipment, menu and other things which were required for the performance. By doing so the equipment could be checked against the checklist when the vehicles were loaded everyday for the tour.

Furthermore, a cook was hired to do the cooking since all the performers were heavily loaded with work. The hired cook, however, was treated like a member of the theatre team. The logistics of meals and menu were acceptable to all members of the theatre team. Prior to the departure for a tour, a leader for the whole team was chosen. The selected leader commanded the respect of not only every member of the team but also the community members. The size of the theatre group was kept manageable to about twelve people. This number of persons was easily transported in a small vehicle.

In addition to the above techniques, as was implemented in 1976, the theatre team members worked out a daily schedule which was acceptable to everybody in the troupe. Every player knew what he or she was expected to do during the tour.

Apart from the adjustment of the daily schedule that was implemented during the 1976 festival, there were other organisational steps. These other steps were players knowing each other's jobs and acting parts, audience' seating arrangement during a performance, the leader of the theatre team explaining to the audience the purpose of the performance, telling them about the post-performance discussion session and introducing the performers and the various plays, players alternating the performative arts so that all of them would not have to be presented at the same time, acting skills and techniques of organising post-performance discussion. These techniques were executed in the same manner as in the early Botswana popular theatre workshops.

Although Ross Kidd had made a significant improvement over the years in the process of popular theatre by way of replacing the identification and selection of problems by the community leaders and the extension workers with an informal interviewing of almost all villagers in a particular village directly about issues of concern to them, the popular theatre process as a whole had remained statically within the hands of the popular theatre organisers. It did not overcome its fundamental weakness as regards villagers' participation and the didactic style of taking theatre to the people.

While organising the workshop as a community-based project was useful and innovative, the villagers' participation was limited to the research phase and the post-performance discussion. For example, in the course of the theatre workers conducting the research for the issues and concerns of the peasants, they interviewed the peasants who supplied them with their problems. This was the first time during the workshop that the villagers made contact with the theatre workers. Then, after the research, the villagers only sat with the theatre activists as audience at the time the performances were being presented and during the post-performance discussion. The villagers were precluded from taking part in the analysis of their own problems and the improvisation of the performances. Workshop participants analysed the problems from their own perspective and often already had a preconceived opinion about the villagers being ignorant, apathetic and having bad habits. The result was that they could not have analysed the difficulties the way the community members saw them. The rural people should have been involved in analysing their own problems so that they could challenge any assumptions or preconceptions of the workshop participants. Besides, the workshop participants were the same extension workers who sent didactic plays to these villagers during their professional departmental duties before Ross Kidd arrived. Having, therefore, worked with theatre for sometime, the extension workers would turn back to apply their old bureaucratic methods of analysing villagers' problems.

The discussion at the end of the performance was too short to get any detailed analysis of the issues reflected in the presentation, let alone plans for action. The rural peasants, as in the previous process, remained passive "receptacles" only to be called upon to discuss the problems and take action to transform them. The difficulties belonged to the villagers and they knew their deep-rooted structural causes- whether economic, political or social. They should have been engaged in the process of analysing their own information, improvising the drama, and performing the plays. It is through the analysis that the villagers would get to have a clearer perception of their issues and then find suitable ways of solving them.

However, the devised plays represented a limited understanding of the community situation. If the analysis had continued throughout the workshop, with active participation of the villagers, and the content of the drama was allowed to change, then a deeper understanding of the community's issues would have been manifested in the final drama.

On the other hand, the workshop participants acquired skills of village research, theatre skills, techniques of analysing problems, drama-making, performance organisation, discussion leadership skills, and method of evluation through practical work. As a result of the training of the extension workers who came from all over the country, the idea of popular theatre spread to all parts of Botswana.

Notwithstanding the benefits of the workshop participants, Ross Kidd's popular theatre process, which included the use of participatory drama, the Freirean literacy method of running popular theatre and animation of extension workers at different times, still remained a process of an outside theatre group sending drama to villagers whose involvement in it was limited.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FRUIT OF THE ZIMBABWEAN AND THE GHANAIAN EXPERIENCES

As regards the hindrances to the success of the revised strategies in the Basarwa workshop in 1977 and the inter-agency animation workshop of 1978 in Botswana which militated against the total achievement of the social change objectives of the *Laedza Batanani*, a new approach to popular theatre was required. The new method of organising popular theatre was to be the most suitable approach that would encourage audience participation, make the audience members the controllers of the process, offer them the chance to think critically or analyse the difficulties from their own perspective, and also be a stimulus to collective action.

Such an approach was in fact called for by a group of theatre activists and students of Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria. The new process was a conglomerate of the former approaches, which turned the audience members into "objects" of the research and fostered a one-way dialogue (such as outside theatre practitioners preaching to the community members new skills, attitudes and practices), and a new process of research and learning where the spectators now became the "subjects" of the process. At this time the theatre workers did not retreat to their workshop centre after collecting the information about the people's social and economic problems as they did in the previous approaches to popular theatre. Instead, they remained with the villagers and developed the analysis and the dramatisation with them. "The process of making the play, through a combination of dramatisation and analysis, thus became the core of the learning process."[1]

The new approach to popular theatre was described as a theatre evolved by the community for themselves with their own social and economic difficulties as the themes for the dance, drama, puppetry and songs. Hence, its name: "popular theatre by the people".

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[1] Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of ZimbabweanWorkshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ V.1 1985), p. 180

In this new process, the theatre activists and the extension agents of agriculture, community development, health, and all other agencies of development from outside the rural communities were no more than animators. The identification of the community's issues and problems were not now the only stage in which the community members were involved. They were also engaged in the analysis and in the creation of the drama, dance, puppetry, and in composing the songs. The drama was always left unfinished so that the audience could contribute to its completion, which ultimately culminated in a decision to take collective action to resolve the difficulty raised in it. A drama of this kind was an on-going discussion with an ever deepening analysis of the issues.

Another theatre process from which Ross Kidd drew his source of running popular theatre workshops was the Zimbabwe people's theatre. Before Ross Kidd began the Zimbabwean workshop, he was told the story of the Zimbabwean people's theatre. The Zimbabweans developed the people's theatre at the time of their struggle for independence. In the 1970s the Zimbabwean freedom fighters realised that the use of guns was insufficient to aid them win the liberation war. They felt that it was necessary to win the total commitment and active support of the ordinary people so that they could be successful in the struggle for freedom from colonial domination. This feeling necessitated meetings and political educational rallies with the peasants. These conscientisation meetings had to be carried out under cover. The ordinary masses' own cultural gatherings were quite an effective concealment for this purpose.

Following the discovery of the peasants' own cultural gathering as a powerful means of conveying to them the ideas and spirit of the struggle for freedom, the freedom fighters formed a community cultural gathering which they called *pungwe*. The *pungwe* meetings were often held in the open-air. It was a participatory process which permitted voluntary contributions of dances, sketches, songs and poetry by anyone in the group. It encouraged everyone to join in the dancing and singing. During these activities the freedom fighters and their supporters made short speeches about the issues of the liberation war. These issues were exhaustively discussed by all members of the *pungwe*. The songs which were composed and sung under the cloak of religious tunes, won the support of the peasants for the fight for liberation. The freedom fighters' messages of the revolution were also told through dramatic skits. The villagers were not only enthusiastic but also the leading performers and the co-creators of the cultural activities. They also played an important role in the organisation of the cultural programme. The organisation of the *pungwe* was the initiative of the community members themselves. No outside theatre expert influenced them. The Zimbabwean people's theatre in the words of Ross Kidd "was a form of a) cultural expression and self-reliant entertainment, b) political education, c) community building, d) conscientisation and e) morale- building."[2] In a nutshell, it brought the peasants together, explained the role they would play in the revolution for independence, created a forum for village discussion and decision-making, and evolved the spirit of village action.

Ross Kidd drew experiences from the Benue state workshop organised by Ahmadu Bello University students in Nigeria and the Zimbabwe people's theatre to run his popular theatre workshop in Muchinjike when he was invited among other theatre resource persons by the Zimbabwean government in 1983 to train its development cadres and theatre artists in the process of theatre for development.

Zimbabwe had been under colonial rule for 90 years until it attained independence in 1980. Since independence, it had struggled to get rid of the vestiges of colonial and settler rule. As a last resort, it found out that the restructuring could only be made by mobilising the ordinary people. The means by which the restructuring could be effected was through peoples' theatre or community theatre. As mentioned above, the Zimbabweans used people's theatre to mobilise themselves to fight against colonial domination which earned them their independence. They were, therefore, quite familiar with people's theatre. The Zimbabwean development cadres used skits to educate the rural people, which tended to disseminate information and development messages. Their methodology did not focus on the process of community analysis and decision-making. The cultural workers too, organised cultural festivals for the people but did not have the skills of animating village cultural activities as tools for development. Hence, the organisation of a three-week theatre for development workshop in August, 1983 "to orient their development cadres and consolidate their ideas in this field."[3]

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[2]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development : Diary of ZimbabweanWorkshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V.1 1985), p.180

The workshop participants included 31 theatre workers from outside Zimbabwe, 57 development cadres and theatre artists from Zimbabwe and 20 resource persons from Zimbabwe and eight other African countries. They were given a two-day orientation course. The orientation course was based on a practical demonstration of a dramatisation-analysis process. The theme used for the demonstration was how development workers might persuade the rural villagers to build self-help schools while they sent their own children to well-furnished urban schools. A short scene was sketched by the theatre resource persons with a few of the workshop participants as performers. The resource persons demonstrated how the scene could be reworked or lengthened through discussions and developed a new scene which incorporated the suggestions made by the rest of the workshop members.

When the orientation had finished, the workshop members were divided into seven small groups. Each group was headed by theatre resource persons. Every group worked on its own on a community-based project. Each group made its own plans and developed its own working process. However, to keep the small groups united, plenary sessions were held on alternate days. During the plenary sessions, the groups had common briefings, shared experiences of their community-based projects.

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[3]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development : Diary of ZimbabweanWorkshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V.1 1985), p. 179

Ross Kidd's group included sixteen men and women. There were seven Zimbabweans and the remaining nine were from other African countries. The members from the other African countries were mostly performers and theatre directors. A few of them had had the experience of working with rural villagers "to produce theatre in an educational process."[4] The Zimbabwean development and cultural workers did not have the "experience in animating peasant cultural activity as a medium for development," as mentioned above.[5]

As most members of Ross Kidd's group did not have the experience in working directly in an educational process, the group's resource persons collaborated and summarily described the process of theatre for development.[6]

Next, the resource persons met together and planned a daily work schedule which was acceptable to all members of the group. The group members travelled everyday to Muchinjike, their assigned village, to carry out the popular theatre workshop. The first meeting had been pre-arranged by a local contact man who was a peasant farmer and a local cultural worker. At the village, the theatre workers met the ruling political party leaders before the entire village meeting and explained to them why they were in their village. Between the brief meeting with the politicians and that of the whole village meeting, the workshop participants broke into pre-arranged pairs. Each pair had a Shona-speaker, Shona being the principal language of the region. Each pair toured the village on foot, talked with the people in their houses, visited the political party's office, the school, and a number of drinking bars. Through the tour, the group discovered that the houses were scattered and far apart. Sometimes there was no link between the village and other villages. This gave the impression that access roads and bridges to facilitate contact were required. The separation also meant that schools and clinics were far from many families. The group of theatre workers also saw a great number of women at a well clamouring for water. This situation clearly demonstrated that there was an acute water shortage in the village.

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[4]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development : Diary of ZimbabweanWorkshop (* New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V.1 1985), p. 182

[5]. Ibid. p.182

6. Ibid. p. 182

The group returned from the tour and met a few older men and a large number of women of all ages except middle-aged men. The absence of the youth suggested that many of them had migrated to the cities to work. The workshop participants began with an exchange of songs. They taught the villagers how to sing their songs and the villagers in turn taught them their own songs. This method "inspired the village women who simply took over the session and turned it into a spontaneous celebration."[7] This drew quite a crowd.

After some time, the singing stopped and people were divided into four groups of older men, women, young women and women's cooperative society members. Each group was assigned two or three theatre workers to work with. This was the beginning of the research phase. The peasants would not give information about their social and economic difficulties until they knew how the information was going to be used and whether they would benefit from it. The workshop participants explained the purpose of the workshop to them. They told them that they wanted to understand their problems so that they could work with them in analysing the information and look for solutions. Thirty-seven difficulties were enumerated. The theatre activists listed all the information on newsprint under different headings of production, cooperatives, land settlement, water, education, women, youth, town-village relationship and communications with government, in readiness for the problem analysis process. Then, they urged the peasants to return the next day and went back to their workshop centre.

The next day, the workshop participants returned to the village and analysed the numerous problems with the villagers. In order to create the right mood for the discussion, the theatre activists, once more, started off the session with exchange of songs. All songs were introduced with either clapping or a dance movement. They encouraged all the community members to join in the singing and dancing. The villagers who had been used to acting out dramatic sketches in their people's theatre turned the dances, games, mime, and songs into role-playing. As a result, the theatre practitioners discarded their old method of discussing the villagers' difficulties with them and succumbed to the villagers' interests. The theatre resource persons used the role-playing as a means for examining the problems in detail rather than organising discussions. This was quite a new method of problem analysis.

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[7]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development : Diary of ZimbabweanWorkshop* (New Theatre Quarterly::NTQ. V. 1 1985),p.184

The role-playing process was begun with a song about a lazy farmer. At the end of the song, a peasant farmer walked into the centre of the circle formed by the audience and the theatre workers. He improvised a play on the problems of farming. The contrived play was followed by more songs and another improvised play. The procedure of *songs....role play...songs ..role play* became the pattern. This format attracted voluntary contributions from the audience. The theme of the plays bordered on morality. For example, there was a skit on teenage pregnancy which concluded with the father of the girl disowning her and divorcing the mother on the grounds that she failed to discipline her daughter.

In analysing the skit, the team of theatre workers explained to the peasants "that the problem of teenage pregnancy was more than just a matter of the erosion of traditional values, an over-indulgent mother, or poor discipline at boarding schools."[8] They told the peasants teenage pregnancy could also be due to unemployment caused by poor education of the girls. Moreover, the migration of the men to the cities left the women with too much work for them to have enough time to discipline their daughters.

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[8]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development : Diary of a ZimbabweanWorkshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V.1 1985),p.186

Through the role-playing the team of workshop participants drew out villagers' perceptions on the various problems. The use of dramatisation, songs, dance, and mime helped them to clarify the important local issues and increased villagers' understanding of them.

At the end of the day many people had been attracted to the meeting place by the singing and drumming. The theatre activists identified some of the peasants who were willing to work with them. From the active participation of the people in the role-play, the theatre workers realised that it was better to "work within the people's own performance traditions incorporating and building on their songs, dances, and sketches and on the pungwe structure itself," than using a form unfamiliar to them.[9] By so doing the villagers became confident that they had useful skills and experience to contribute to dramatisation and that their ideas were very important to the problem-analysis process.

Through the analysis, the issues of water, resettlement, payment of school fees, and women's neglect and mistreatment were selected as the major priorities of the village. These problems were analysed in detail at another time.

The team of theatre workers returned to Muchinjike to deepen the analysis of the major selected issues with the people. Similarly, the deepening of the analysis of the key problems was carried out through a process of dramatisation. The theatre practitioners took each of the priority problems in turn, improvised a short role-play based on it, and then with the participation of the people lengthened the skit through analysis and further improvisation. As in the first analysis, the middle of the circle became the stage for the performance. The discussion which followed each role-play took place at the periphery of the circle. This procedure of *role-play discussion* became the standard structure for the analysis process throughout the rest of the workshop.

The theatre workers started with the major issue of water shortage. The women among the theatre activists improvised a short skit about a fight at a private water-pump and put it on in mime. During the post-performance discussion an audience member said that only water rate payers could have water from the school water-pump. A woman from the audience added that there were many poor people in the village who could not afford the payment of the water rate. From the discussion, it was discovered that there was privatisation of water-pumps. After the discussion the skit was replayed. This time the villagers became the actors and actresses. The scenario of the skit included three scenes of a fight at a water-pump, a woman complaining to her husband, and a woman's attempt to get water from the school water-pump which caused another fight. The post-performance discussion revealed that poor people who could not pay water bills had to continue to use the little water that they managed to get; certain families paid the water bills indirectly because their children who attended the school, worked in the school garden whose produce was sold for the purchase of the diesel to generate power for the water-pump engine. People who could not pay cash were not permitted to fetch water from the school water-pump. Teachers who could afford to pay for diesel were exempted from paying. Other people supported the payment because they lived far away from the school and did not have access to its water. Moreover, the privatisation of water-pumps was encouraged by their colonial masters during the Smith regime.

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[9] Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a Zimbabwean Workshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V.1. , 1985), p.186

Next to be dramatised was the issue of the payment of school fees. A wealthy rural farmer played the father of a secondary school child. He refused to sell his cattle to pay for the child's school fees. The rest of the villagers who watched the performance as audience, suggested that the rich man should be made to take on the character of a poor father. The suggestion made the role-play realistic when it was replayed. However, the character who represented a poor man approachd another person to lend him the sum of $150 or $200. The audience disagreed with this scenario because it was unlikely that a poor person would be given that large sum of money as a personal loan. An alternative suggestion of a bursary was made by one woman. Other women objected to this alternative suggestion because very few people, in fact, received bursaries. After a long and exciting discussion the theatre practitioners dropped the issue of the school fees and proceeded to the next major difficulty of resettlement.

A skit was improvised which featured a son who had completed elementary school. He sought permission from his father to go to the resettlement area. Two peasant farmers enacted this role-play. The father's role was left open. The peasant who played the father based his dialogue on tradition. The people found it difficult to sever their traditional links to the places they had lived in for so many years, particularly as the movement was not a temporary one. The movement also entailed the doing away of old habits, such as living patterns and relationships, to start new ones. Consequently, the peasant who played the father objected to the son's decision to go to the resettlement area. He asked the son "What will our ancestors say? What about our family graves?"[10] Subsequently, the audience members were divided into two groups. Each group discussed the advantages of the resettlement area and why people felt uncertain to move into it. The skit was replayed after an exhaustive discussion. The performers incorporated in their dialogue the new details from the discussion.

Later, the workshop participants dealt with the women's difficulties. The female workshop participants or theatre activists worked with the village women's cooperative and the men worked with the male peasants. The women's cooperative society commenced with songs and a particular song about the oppressive duties of women. The singing developed into a discussion about the heavy tasks women encountered when their husbands migrated to the city to work. The cooperative women's group dramatised two skits which they had pre-improvised. One of the skits told the story about a husband who beat his wife because she had complained that he neglected her. The other skit was built on two families. One of the two families was fraught with conflicts because of a badly kept and dirty household. In contrast, the other family was a house of peace and happiness because the wife belonged to the women's cooperative society and had learned to keep her household clean and to please her husband.

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[10] Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a ZimbabweanWorkshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V. 1 1985), p.188

After the two groups had worked in isolation from each other, they returned and presented their skits. The women dramatised the wife-beating play. When the men saw themselves being caricatured by their wives, they also put on their improvised play showing the infidelity of their wives, which justified their beating their wives.

Then a discussion was held for the men and women together after the two plays were presented. The men dominated the women in the discussion. To have a fair discussion of the problem, the women were separated from the men. While the separation offered the women the opportunity to talk freely about their oppression and suppression by their husbands without being dominated, it inhibited the arrival at a consensus of the two perspectives on the problem from both sexes. Moreover, the conflict in opinion between the two sexes would have generated a vital debate if both sexes had sat together for the discussion.

However, the men did admit that they were partially to blame because of their flirtation with other women, their neglect of their families when they moved into the cities to work, and their excessive drinking.

The women's discussion was much more beneficial than that of the men. They asserted that they had participated in the war of liberation against the colonialists, where they played not only a supportive role, but also took up arms against the colonial detractors for liberty. In view of this, they also wanted their freedom from their husbands. In addition, the women said that they had produced crops which their husbands controlled. The discussion had, however, enlightened the men on "the growing consciousness among the women about their oppression and the potential for active resistance..."[11]

From the way the villagers expressed their views and opinions of the difficulties presented in the role plays, it was evident that they had understood the theatre practitioners' objectives and were willing to search for solutions to the problems. It was left to the theatre workers to help them look for the solutions.

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[11]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a Zimbabwean Worshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V. 1 1985), p.189

The four key problems which were identified for the thorough analysis included water shortage, payment of school fees, resettlement and women's concerns. In order to find solutions to these key issues, a further in-depth analysis was carried out. In the course of deepening the analysis further, the format of the popular theatre process and performance was improved. The theatre activists adopted a new procedure in dealing with the process. Different theatre activists animated different issues and dramas.

The new procedure was begun with singing. Each workshop participant or theatre activist led a song. Some dance and mime actions were included in the performance. After the villagers had been roused into active participation, they were divided into two groups: men forming one group and the women another. The two groups improvised skits based on the major problems and rehearsed them. The men's group was handled by the male theatre resource persons while the female theatre resource persons took charge of the women's group. The men's group took up the resttlement issue. A play was improvised where the peasants were made the actors. In this play, the peasant who played the father of a son incorporated the suggestion made by the participants to allow his son to go to the resettlement area and persuaded the son to go. His dialogue was "We fought the war for land so we could farm. Now that we have won the war you want to run off to town."[12]

The audience disagreed with the dialogue because it was rather the older people who refused the youth permission to go to the resettlement area. The older generation customarily believed that people should stay together and marry from the same neighbourhood. Besides, if the youth went to the resettlement area they would not live with their friends; in addition, their land which they would leave behind would be taken away by other people who would stay back.

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[12]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a ZimbabweanWorkshop* (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V. 1 1985), p.193

The drama was changed in accordance with the wishes of the audience. The father became the pivot of the drama who had to be persuaded to permit his son to go to the resettlement area. But to pose a contrast to the drama, two families were introduced. In one family the father permitted his son to go to the resettlement area; in the other family, the father refused his son the permission to go to the resettlement area and compelled his son to work for him. To make the drama complex and lively, a complication was added to it. The daughter of the father who rejected the idea of his son moving to the resettlement area fell in love with the son who was allowed by his father to go to the resettlement area. The rebellious father had to make the option whether to allow the daughter to marry her boy-friend or to disallow her. After a number of improvisations and discussions, the theatre workers prepared a scenario of the people's views and opinions about resettlement, weighed against the disadvantages. This scenario convinced the father who rejected to the idea of his son to go to the resettlement area to let him go.

The two groups converged after several rehearsals to share what they had done. The women worked on three dramatic sketches which included a literacy drama based on a misinterpretation of a husband's letter to his illiterate wife by a person who intended to do harm, a play about a husband who sold farm produce cultivated by his wife and dissipated the money on girlfriends and beer, and another play about an unmarried woman who became pregnant and by a court's ruling the man was charged with the responsibility of maintaining the baby and the mother.

The actresses mimed one scene by getting two women "yoked together to represent oxen and another two women" walked behind and controlled the plough.[13] In one of the three plays, the narrator and the heroine often turned to the audience and involved its members in dialogue. All of the plays were begun and ended with a song. They were also interspersed with songs to emphasise salient "points in them or show passage of time."[14]

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[13]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a ZimbabweanWorkshop.* (New Theatre Quarterly: N.T.Q. V. 1. 1985),p. 194.

The development cadres as well as the peasants participated in "the scenario-making, performing, singing, discussing, animating, translating, morale-building."[15] At the end of the productions there was "a tremendous feeling of unity" among the villagers irrespective of their different political aspirations.[16]

At this time, most of the workshop objectives had been accomplished but the theatre resource persons went ahead and refined "the work theatrically, and facilitated "further community discussion and decision-making on the major issues, especially the water problem."[17]

The well-owners and the water rate payers who made up a greater number of the audience reacted to the water issue when it was brought up for discussion once more. They said that the water-pump belonged to the public and it was the same public that made the rule that only those who paid the rate could fetch water from it.

In view of this reaction, the theatre resource persons avoided plays which suggested solutions to the problem. They rather simply presented much simpler ones which highlighted the difficulties clearly so that the people themselves decided on what they could do to resolve the issue. One drama was based on a fight at a private well. There was very little water in the well to suffice everybody. The water situation had grown worse now. There was another scene which gave special prominence to crises including a fight at the school water-pump between water rate-payers and non-payers, a family conflict where a woman returned from the water-pump without water, and drought which caused low crop yield, starvation and lack of money to pay the water rate.

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[14]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a ZimbabweanWorkshop.* (New Theatre Quarterly: N.T.Q. V. 1. 1985),p. 194.

15. Ibid. p.194

[16]. Ibid. p.194

[17]. Ibid. p. 194.

A process of questioning and dramatisation was used to analyse the issue. Through this process, further contradictions, root causes of water shortage, and alternative to combat the problem were brought to light. While drought was a natural cause, other causes included the privatisation of water which was encouraged by the colonial government, poverty due to drought, poor harvests, killing of the peasants cattle by Smith's troops and lack of education and job opportunities.

It was apparent that the natural, socio-economic and political causes of the difficulty in getting water had made it difficult for the community to resolve it unless they got help from the government. The people needed a borehole (water-pump) deep enough to serve them; and its technology was beyond their means. The sinking of the borehole could not also be done by self-help labour. However, through the dramatisation and group discussion, a consensus was reached by the villagers.

> However, a consensus was reached by the peasants. They decided that: The elderly should not be expected to pay.Young people and women should do some jobs to earn the money. People who have money for beer should be able to pay. And :We should organise together, collect a contribution from each person and dig a new borehole[18] .

In analysing the workshop, one must not only do so in terms of its objectives but must also take into consideration the political situation at the time it was held. Zimbabwe had attained her liberation from the colonial imperial government in 1980 after a fierce war. After its liberation, it plunged itself into a political struggle for leadership between Zimbabwe African National

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[18]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a Zimbabwean Workshop*. (New Theatre Quarterly:N.T.Q. V.1.1985),p. 196.

Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). ZANU led by Robert Mugabe rules today but its relationship with ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo was not cordial at the time the workshop was held. This hatred between the two political parties brought political division among the ethnic groups.

While there was this inveterate political bitterness, economic and social problems existed too. For instance, there was a series of hardships and social developmental issues which included shortage of food and drinking water in drought-stricken areas, lack of accessible roads to link villages, and schools.

In such a controversial atmosphere infested with numerous socio-political problems popular theatre could not be considered as being the medium which would resolve these issues. However, the popular theatre activists succeeded in bringing the rural villagers together to discuss the difficulties which pervaded the country through the practice of theatre and encouraged them to use it.

The success of this gathering of theatre practitioners and the rural population depended on several factors. These factors included the theatre activists' ability to establish a good working relationship with the villagers as peers, having a good contact person who pre-arranged meetings with the peasants, and the cultural exchange of dances and songs which was always used in starting off the daily workshop process. The villagers' contributions were not brushed aside but rather regarded as crucial to the workshop. By doing so a genial atmosphere was created which strengthened the people's self-confidence and made them enthusiastic and fearless. Thus, they talked about problems they would otherwise have not revealed for fear of victimisation.

Bringing people who had been torn apart due to political struggle for leadership, and who had not once sat together after independence and to discuss common problems in a lively way was an achievement and the right direction toward creating a spirit of unity which would triumph to community development.

The villagers realised that the workshop was useful and participated actively in the form of information, analysis and acting out their difficulties and looking for solutions. They "experienced a much more sustained, participatory and deep-rooted learning process than if they had watched and discussed a ready-made play produced by outsiders."[19]

The plays reflected the villagers' reality, perspectives and their drama-making. They were involved in making and remaking the drama which brought new insights and produced deeper critical analysis of the difficulties and capabilities of resolving them. This kind of participatory and intensive learning process was a good foundation for the development cadres and the theatre artists to build on when carrying out theatre for development work.

The development cadres as well as the villagers learnt the use of drama-making as a medium for bringing people together to express their opinons and views about common problems, to analyse the issues and discuss different ways of resolving them. On the other hand, the resource persons did not manage to mobilise the villagers alongside the development cadres to take collective action on a simple issue in Muchinjike. Nor did they let them see how drama-making could be applied in the process of development.

Although the workshop participants had some successes, they did not leave any organisational skills with the villagers for their future use. For instance, the theatre resource persons adopted the methodology of an outside theatre group for the workshop. They carried out the workshop with their own initiatives rather than allowing the peasants to do so. Thus, while the villagers participated actively in contributing information, analysis and performing skills, they did not control the process. The process was designed by the resource persons who led it and suggested where it should go. They also chose the major difficulties and decided on which of them should be dealt with in the analysis process. The rural population were precluded from taking part in the overall planning and the daily evaluation. They also had very little knowledge about what the theatre practitioners did with their contributions so that they could participate as effectively as the practitioners. Notwithstanding that the theatre workers had a contribution to make in the way of developing an effective learning process and making use of the knowledge and understanding of the community's social system, they needed to involve the community members to share the initiatives. In doing so the villagers would take control of the workshop process. Another constraint to the workshop was that the daily schedule was heavily loaded with activities which did not allow theatre workers the time to review the process at each point. The crowded schedule gave them little time even to be able to assess the preceding day's work or develop a concerted plan on what they did the next day. The theatre practitioners failed to explain the daily workshop objectives to villagers and even to talk about villagers' expectations. The theatre activists having failed to clarify workshop objectives daily, led the contact person to insist on moving the workshop from village to village.

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[19]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a ZimbabweanWorkshop*. (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V.1 1985),p. 198

Notwithstanding the total involvement of the villagers in discussing their own problems, they were still passive, individualistic and dependent on government. For instance, at the close of the workshop, they agreed that they would go to the resettlement area if government assured them of draught power; the private water-pump owners too did not declare that non-payers of water rate could fetch water from their water-pumps, which was indicative of individualism. So although these issues were discussed, the workshop did not lead to action. It failed to overcome these self interests of the villagers.

Throughout the workshop, the women were better organised and participated more actively than the men. However, the men tended to dominate them whenever the women's contributions ran against their husbands. The rich and more influential men in the community also condemned some of the contributions of the poor majority. The workshop would have been more thoroughly carried out and its impact much more felt if the audience had been divided into classes of the more influential and rich men, the women's group, the poor people's group, and the youth group. Each peer group would have expressed common views and opinions about the problems discussed. This method would have given each group the opportunity to talk freely without interference and brought out more details on each difficulty.

The success of the workshop was partially due to the political atmosphere and the people's political experience and their willingness to contribute to the drama-making. As mentioned above, the freedom fighters had used songs, short dramatic skits and dance to mobilise the people for the liberation war which earned them independence. The people already had experience in people's theatre. Hence their experience, initiative, techniques of organising and their capability of creating people's theatre helped the theatre workers accomplish their objectives. If the villagers had all these skills and techniques of organising a successful *pungwe*, then there was no need for Ross Kidd to say that the peasants only had to be shown "how improvisation and drama-making could be linked with discussion and used to intensify their own learning process."[20] After all, the peasants improvised their performances and held discussions before they embarked on the fight for liberation.

Unfortunately, the scenario of each play was worked out by the theatre resource persons and workshop participants instead of permitting the peasants alone to experiment with the skills they already had for organising the *pungwe*.

The people's art forms provided a basis from which the theatre practitioners worked. The resource persons needed a full briefing on the social, political and cultural context of the community to be able to work as effective animators.

The next popular theatre workshop Ross Kidd organised was in Ghana. Ross Kidd left Botswana for Ghana and assumed the post of advisor to the Canadian International Development Agency and Wardrop Engineering Inc. on Water Education for Health in the Upper West Region. His duty was to educate the rural communities on the usefulness of drinking treated water. In his capacity as an advisor to the above organisations on Water Education for Health, he organised a two day animation workshop in Nandom in the Upper West Region of Ghana in September, 1986. The animation workshop was organised as a training programme for extension workers on interactive drama for water education; and as part of water education for health pilot programme in the Nandom area.

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[20]. Ross Kidd, *Theatre for Development: Diary of a ZimbabweanWorkshop*. (New Theatre Quarterly: NTQ. V.1 1985),p. 198

The extension workers had already been introduced to drama as a tool for education during the pilot field programme. While they liked drama and could create drama sketches, they still lacked the confidence in using drama and the technical know-how of producing it for the purpose of community education. In addition, they had difficulties in handling all roles of a play while they were on their extension routine work; and they did not know how best they could engage the peasants in the drama-making process.

Furthermore, before Ross Kidd arrived in Ghana, the Ghana Arts Council had been given the duty to produce performances on water-borne diseases by the organisers of the Water Utilisation Project. The Arts Council produced puppet plays. Since the Arts Council did not travel to the pump areas to produce the puppet shows with the residents of those areas, the puppet plays had to be toured to the 2,600 pump areas of both the Upper East and Upper West Regions. The Arts Council relied on the organisers of the Water Utilisation Project for transport. At certain times the organisers failed to procure a vehicle for the tour. As a result, the Arts Council could not tour the puppet shows to reach out to a great number of the pump areas.

In consequence, there was the need to orient the extension workers to the process of popular theatre for development and to supplement the confidence and skills in using drama and introducing them to drama methodology which would involve villagers in the drama-making process. The workshop was also geared toward "developing a working relationship with the field staff of the Arts Council with the aim of involving them as trainers/resource persons in future workshops."[21]

Other aims of the workshop included the training of extension workers to acquire skills in using songs, dance and singing-games as tools for education; trying out "sculpturing" as an alternative to photographs or flipcharts for explaining water-borne disease transmission; and exploring the possibility of using potential traditional art forms as media for water education.

The standard format of the workshop was a continuing process of leading the extension workers through demonstrations of different techniques of organising popular theatre for water education in plenary meetings; practical work in plenary or small group meetings; and the assessment of each technique of its accuracy for community-based water education work.

Ross Kidd started off the workshop with community games, songs and dances as he did in Zimbabwe. He demonstrated a number of them as techniques which could be adapted for use in water education work. The process helped to arouse interest of participants; helped them overcome shyness and become active participants, and assisted them to get to know each other. Through the singing, dancing and game playing, participants built self-confidence and self expression and also developed team spirit.

However, games could not be effective with an adult audience since they are considered by the villagers as activities for the youth. On the other hand, some of them could be played by the youth when audience members were yet gathering to generate and sustain their interest. Such games could also be used to attract more audience members.

Songs have always played an important role of enhancing interest, enthusiasm and active participation in rural cooperative projects. It was therefore not surprising that they worked well in building participation and a sense of community spirit. Melodious songs with a dance movement would be a catalyst in stimulating participation in group meetings.

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[21]. Ross Kidd, *Interactive Drama Training Workshop, Nandom.* Wardrop Engineering Inc. (Field Paper No.7, September, 1986), pp. 4-5.

Another methodology that was used in the pilot programme was the use of charts as teaching tools to explain the transmission cycle of water-borne diseases, such as diarrhoea, malaria and bilharzia. This method was cumbersome. Audience members had difficulties in interpreting the charts accurately and the extension workers too had the problem of drawing them. In light of this, the use of charts was replaced with an alternative method called "sculpturing" during the workshop. "

The theatre resource person demonstrated sculpturing to workshop participants. After the demonstration, participants practised sculpturing in small groups and developed sculptures on diarrhoea, malaria and bilharzia. Groups made a "sculpture of the existing situation" and later transformed that sculpture "to show the ideal or changed situation."[22]

Participants found it much easier to do image theatre because it did not entail dialogue, which sometimes exposed players' speech inhibitions. Sculptors who were extension workers simply had to understand the gist of the play and apply their understanding to sculpt it.

The next technique was storytelling drama or stop-start drama. Stop-start drama is a play in the making. Participants of a workshop are told a story and each time a number of them, depending on the number of characters in the story, is called upon to improvise a play with the story. While they create the play, the organiser stops them at a point to allow the audience analyse the play to find out if it really reflects the situation in the story and suggests a resolution. After the analysis, creators of the play start again to improvise it while incorporating the suggestions from the audience. At most times, performers are switched over by more knowledgeable audience members. It was developed for the workshop as a trial programme in community-based drama for water education for health. A story was simply enacted which looked like a didactic drama. However, the extension workers learnt a form of drama in which the process of contriving it involved the entire theatre workshop group.

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[22]. Ross Kidd, *Interactive Drama Training Workshop, Nandom,* Wardrop Engineering Inc. (Field Paper No.7, September, 1986),p. 10.

The resource person started the storytelling technique by conducting the extension workers through a warm-up exercise of a singing game. They sang *shosholoza* which is a chain dance to simulate a train. After the warm-up dance, the theatre practitioner demonstrated stop-start or storytelling drama to extension workers. They used diarrhoea as its theme. When the demonstration had ended, the participants were divided into two groups. One group chose diarrhoea as its theme and the other bilharzia. They created plays by formulating stories about these themes, rehearsed them and after a while acted the plays out to each other in a plenary session. A post-performance discussion was held and views which could be used by extension workers during their field work were recorded on newsprint.[23]

With regards to the storytelling drama technique, it would be said that the extension workers learnt an additional methodology of drama-making. They learnt how storytelling could be transformed into a play by involving the audience in its creation. Consequently, they learnt to organise drama at a community level and how a process of improvising drama could be developed by an audience and used with discussion to intensify audiences' understanding of the difficulty at stake.

After the storytelling drama, the workshop participants moved on to health education songs. The purpose of this was to let extension workers share with their counterparts the water education for health songs they had composed in their various working areas. Every extension worker at the workshop taught the group a song. The songs were written on newsprint for participants to write them down for reference someday. They were also recorded on tapes so that other extension workers could be taught and the recorded tapes kept for future radio programmes.

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[23]. Ross Kidd, *Interactive Drama Training Workshop, Nandom,* Wardrop Engineering Inc. (Field Paper No.7, September, 1986),pp. 19-21.

The workshop was rounded off in a public performance. The theatre workers performed in the Nandom market for the public. They practised how the theatre techniques they had acquired through the workshop could be used in public meetings.

At the start, the extension workers were so nervous and disorganised that they could not begin the performance. The resource persons, therefore, intervened to have the event started. Later, the extension workers overcame their stage fright and everything came off well. The public were drawn into the circle, being the stage, as performers. They were also involved in the discussions and led through questioning to reach a unanimous agreement on the resolutions of the pieces acted out.

The tremendous improvements made by Ross Kidd in the 1983 and 1986 workshops can be summarised as follows: In 1983, he involved the peasant audience in Muchinjike in Zimbabwe in all the stages of the popular theatre process. The audience were engaged in the research for community issues, problem-analysis, creation of the plays, performance, and post-performance discussion. In 1986, Kidd introduced stop-start and storytelling drama in the interactive drama workshop held at Nandom in the Upper West region of Ghana.

In regard to analysing the workshop, theatre on its own can assemble people and provide a forum for arousing awareness and stimulating discussion of their problems, but it can not create the conditions for collective action. Because of its absence of connections to local organisations or a process of organising people around the issues, the experience learnt from the theatre normally ends with the end of the programme. The people who work in the fields as extension workers are the group of people who can provide the conditions for organised action in their liaison activities.

The series of games and exercises developed both the extension workers' consciousness and confidence. They helped to stimulate participation and self expression. They provided entertainment and built team spirit among the extension workers. Participants rehearsed and discussed different techniques of using drama for change among peasants. The various methods strengthened their growing awareness that they had choices that they could use to effect change. So the trained extension workers of the animation workshop could form a strong community organisation to take up the issues raised in the presentations during the workshop.

On the other hand, popular theatre should be geared toward making the people the controllers of their own change process rather than make them passive "receptacles" of messages and analysis from outside theatre activists. To achieve this purpose, theatre practitioners would have to place the means of artistic production and analysis into their hands. Considering this aim of popular theatre, the animation workshop should have been held in one of the villages as a community-based project; and its community members invited to participate in the workshop exercise. Besides, the extension workers' category of work goes beyond water-related issues. They should, therefore, have been sent to the communities to investigate the peasants' difficulties and after a while, involved the peasants in a process of analysis, improvisation of the performances and the performance. Through the research and analysis, the water-related issues would have come up, since they were the most prevalent problems in the villages, and still be used as themes for the workshop. In this way the extension workers would have learnt how to conduct research and analyse difficulties as well as drama-making with strategies of engaging peasants in an entire theatre process. The villagers, too, would have learnt to take control of their own transformation process.

Moreover, in popular theatre the effectiveness of its workshops should depend on the thorough understanding of the needs, problems, attitudes, and preferences of its clienteles. The understanding of the needs of the clienteles that caused the problems was essential for the planning of an effective workshop which would help meet the needs and eventual eradication of the problems.

The water-related issues had their root causes. These root causes would have been ascertained if research was conducted. The research would have revealed why the water-pumps were sunk in those areas and why the villagers stopped drinking water from them and went back to their traditional wells and streams. Most of these pump areas were drought stricken; and drought has its attendant problems of famine due to poor yields of grains, poverty and lack of drinking water. As a result of the lack of drinking water, pumps were sunk in those villages to alleviate that difficulty. The homesteads of these inhabitants are scattered. Some of these pumps have been sunk faraway from the villages, (sometimes in the bush), depending on the water table. These villagers who did not recover from their famine and poverty were levied heavy rates to pay to meet the cost of maintaining the pumps. Whoever did not pay was refused water from the pumps. So their alternative source of water was either their traditional well or the stream.

If the peasants had been integrated in the animation workshop and thorough research conducted regarding these root causes, the water related issues would have come up as mentioned above. The workshop organiser would have had the correct crucial issues to deal with in the creation of the performances. Then he would have later entered into dialogue with the authorities of the Water Utilisation Project for a reduction in the water maintenance fee and with the regional administrations to resettle the scattered villagers around the pumps. The former could have been a short-term solution which would have ameliorated the seriousness of the water-borne disease situation almost immediately; and the latter a long term solution.

One major constraint of the workshop was time. Two days were not enough to accomplish seven broad objectives thoroughly. Although all the objectives were covered during the two-day period, it was obvious that there was a rush in trying to accomplish them. Hence, the exercise could not be said to have been carried out perfectly. However the extension workers, as hinted above, acquired skills which had to be reinforced by a follow-up action.

While it is useful to train extension workers as animators of popular theatre for development, it is also reasonable to include "opinion leaders" of the villages in the training programme. Some or all these extension workers either do not live permanently in the villages or even do not understand the language of the people. Moreover, as government workers they are liable to transfer or dismissal. So to ensure the continuity of using popular theatre in an educational process in the villages, it is rather better to train the village "key persons" who live with the people than the extension workers.

CONCLUSION

Ross Kidd has, between 1974 and 1986, offered three differing processes of organising popular theatre workshops. The differing processes have provided varying focii for running popular theatre workshops. A theory regarding organising popular theatre workshops can be enunciated based on understanding the organisational steps applied by Ross Kidd in carrying out his three phases of popular theatre workshops: planning, problem identification, problem analysis, performance preparation or drama-making, performance, post-performance discussion, evaluation, action and follow-up programme.

THEORY OF ORGANISING POPULAR THEATRE

A number of theoretical principles for organising popular theatre workshops extracted from Ross Kidd's popular theatre projects are as follows:

(I). The fundamental fact of popular theatre is that it is concerned with the concept of developing people in particular and the society in general. Popular theatre projects emerge from the specific needs of the people as identified by them. The workshops, therefore, should concentrate on the people's objectives as opposed to those of the theatre practitioner and the entire workshop process should be controlled by the people themselves.

Intrinsically, participation is central to theory and practice in popular theatre because a large number of its audience are voluntary participants. The theatre practitioner does not often have a captive audience, nor in most cases do participants attend workshops regularly. Thus in popular theatre the effectiveness and often the survival of its programmes depends upon a thorough understanding of the needs, problems, attitudes, and preferences of its audience. As the general goal of popular theatre is with meeting communities' needs and with adapting its programmes and practices to the unique requirements and preferences of an entire community, participatory research in popular theatre is, therefore, very important to the organisational effectiveness. Popular theatre workshops should be community-based.projects.

In a community-based theatre workshops, the theatre activists must conduct research with the whole village for thematic issues without regard to caste, education or social status. This procedure of research eliminates sectoral interests of the most privileged in the society to be used as workshop themes, disregarding those of the unprivileged majority. Theatre activists must be aware that in every community there are at least two types of people who have opposing sets of interests. These sets of people are the large number of poor people who are unorganised and oppressed, the other being the few rich people who are organised and powerful. The latter group controls the socio-economic as well as the political function of the community. The poor are considered passive recipients of development. The theatre practitioners should, in their understanding, consider them as partners in development and thus active participants in the popular theatre for development process. In this vein, the poor should be involved in search for development for the entire community. It is when the entire community develops an understanding of its own reality jointly and acts as a group in its own interest that social transformation can be achieved.

Furthermore, if popular theatre is community-based, the participants can easily learn the skills taught them by the theatre practitioners. Something which people actually do leads them to remember the skills they obtain since learning can only be acquired by doing.

In order to maximise or internalise learning of new skills, information should be presented in an organised fashion. Popular theatre developmental projects must, therefore, be arranged to proceed from the simple to the complex. Skill development must also be enhanced by repetition, particularly when practised systematically over a period of time. Hence, popular theatre workers should train in theatre and adult education skills, and provide the particular pieces of knowledge.

Participation, too, is not just taking part in a pre-arranged programme; participants must be engaged in every stage, from planning the programme, choosing the dialogue, which of course, should be their own language and idiom, to self-evaluation, which also allows for continuous assessment, and fosters planning for future activities. Participation is a prerequisite whereby audiences learn.

Involving audience in all aspects of the workshop process determines content, location, duration and methods of carrying out the workshop. The theatre resource person must not be the all-knowing person but the co-organiser and the co-creator of the workshop activities. He promotes participation through stimulation, encouragement, reflection and endurance.

(II). Village volunteers or opinion leaders should be invited to help in the research for community issues and concerns. Their presence in the research team facilitates the research in that what the villagers will otherwise not reveal to visiting theatre workers, they may reveal upon the appearance of their own people. The theatre practitioner must treat the community members as his or her co-equals and respect them. Villagers' information should not be brushed off but considered as crucial to the workshop until during the problem-analysis session when some of or all the data may be declared as less serious ones by their fellow villagers.

(III). Popular theatre like any other development programme aims at raising critical awareness, acquiring knowledge and learning new skills. Popular theatre workshop participants should as a result of participating in the process, be made aware of their own situation and the general socio-economic reality of their community or environment. Popular theatre resource persons must embark on participatory research with the belief that people have knowledge and they can acquire knowledge. The recognition of popular knowledge contributes to awareness-raising and to the authority of the people; it should culminate in organised action. They should also create an understanding that change is possible and that the knowledge of alternatives leads to desire for change.

Development objectives and strategies should reflect the value of the community. As a result, members of that community must have access to decision-making. Actual development can only occur when people have control over resources. In popular theatre, participants should be encouraged to see themselves as a source of information and knowledge about the real world. They should be permitted to identify what types of change they wish to achieve and how to set out to attain them. Building the activity around the participants' needs thus ensures more permanent learning.

(IV). A dialogue should be generated between the researcher and the researched so that the popular theatre process would be considered as an education for both the researcher and the researched.

(V). The identified issues must be analysed in relation to the reality of the community. This means that after the open-ended research stage of popular theatre, a selection of the priorities should be made from the identified problems according to a basis such as the potential for community solution. The choice of the most pertinent issues in the village should be made by the theatre activist with the active participation of the community. With the participation of the people, popular theatre resource persons are able to choose and deal with ideas, problems or situations familiar to the audience or participants. The villagers themselves are the richest resource of learning. Throughout their lives, they have had an extensive knowledge and experience of their needs, problems and preferences. They also know the deep-rooted structural causes of their difficulties which theatre workers would have to explore through simple question and answer method. Popular theatre works best and goes deepest when it is built on this foundation. As mentioned above, the content of the workshop performances must be based on the community's present concerns, perspectives, and apply to real-life experiences. It should begin with a small and immediate problem which people can solve. People's success in an activity, gives them satisfaction and confidence and motivates them intrinsically to become more involved and thus triggers them to grapple with other more difficult situations. By engaging the participants in the analysis of their own issues and concerns they become more aware of their own reality, and take serious action to transform the situation. The community knows the difficulties it wants to resolve and methods of doing so must be based on mutual respect between its members and the theatre worker.

In short, the process of popular theatre workshop should be controlled by the audience or participants. The process should be shaped by them and the theatre worker. Its direction, the choosing of the priorities and the decision on which issues would have to be raised each day must be made by the theatre resource person in connection with and with the approval of the participants. The overall planning and the daily evaluation should be carried out by the theatre worker and the audience which would give the audience equal power in the process.

(VI). Since drama is as old as mankind, popular theatre activists should be cognisant of the fact that the rural villages already have indigenous performance forms and cultural activities. They should, therefore, explore the villages for these indigenous performance forms and build their plays on the traditions and popular knowledge. For example, Kidd realised that through working with the peasants' own criteria of cultural activity, the theatre practitioners would not only reinforce the villagers' confidence but also build on something which the communities have already organised and control; thus, ensuring continuity, value is given to previous accomplishment. In doing so too, the plays would reflect the reality, the perspectives and the drama-making of the rural areas.

At the stage of performance preparation in popular theatre, the technical considerations of the scenario and the various performative arts should not dominate, since the general aim is to depict the chosen issues in a concise and direct way that will focus the audience's attention.

Popular theatre performances should be created on crucial problems in the lives of the community members. They must be devised by the extension workers and the peasant audiences with the guidance of the theatre practitioner. Theatre workers should be aware that the peasantry have thoughts and feelings and can express them forcefully when given the opportunity to do so.

The peasants should, therefore, be involved in the making and remaking of the performances, which would reveal new insights that would not have otherwise been brought up. This would create a more critical analysis of the difficulties and bring up possibilities for transformation. The audience's continued participation in the performance preparation would provide an organisational base for a long-term continuity of the popular theatre activities in the community. Besides, building the performances on the people's traditions and popular knowledge would affirm the value of the indigenous performative art-forms and organisation as a stimulus for development.

Popular theatre plays are not completed, well-rounded or close-ended dramas as often seen in fictional representations in the theatre houses. They are of a more oral tradition that is in a continual process of change, to more deeply reflect the socio-economic or political reality of the people. They are improvised and repeatedly revised in the light of a constant, critical debate. The peasants become the actors and the actresses and the theatre becomes the medium through which they analyse their situation, the possibilities for action, and the implications of each line of action.

One process which encouraged such full participation is outlined by Kidd. The chosen issues are examined and thoroughly explored by the performers for both factors that withhold people from resolving them and those that foster change. The players are divided into smaller groups, each led by a theatre resource person. Through this analysis the players work out a sequence of events or tell a story which expresses the issue. Then a short skit based on the story or the sequence of events is improvised with their own dialogue and rehearsed. A plenary session of all groups is held and each group presents its play. After the presentation, the villagers analyse their action as regards its limitations and potential obstacles and then replay their course of action incorporating the suggestions raised by the other groups which stand in for the audience. The replay or "rehearsal" is continued until every participant accepts that the play really expresses the difficulty and proposes a solution.

Other performative art-forms such as dancing, puppetry and singing, if they are available in that society, should be included not only to diversify and make the performance lively but also to reinforce the issues reflected in the drama. For the dancing, a local dancer should be invited to work with the performers to develop dances on the issues presented in the drama. With regard to puppetry, the puppet manipulators must develop a sequence of events, as with the drama, and improvise movements and dialogue accordingly. The songs composed for popular theatre activities should be refrain ones so that the audience can join in to sing with the performers. The songs can be composed by either using new tunes or fitting new words to old tunes. They must be simple and funny in order to arouse the interest of the audience.

(VII a). The daily schedule should be drawn in such a way that the actors and actresses have time for relaxation. This method would help offset the rise of tension among players which would ultimately disrupt the performance schedule. Considering the above, the daily schedule should not be over-loaded with a lot of activities but must be well spaced out. The popular theatre performance and the community discussion must be held during the day and a programme of other activities, such as songs, and traditional dancing at night.

(VII b). The performance should be held at a village meeting place which is accessible to every member of the community.

(VII c). Since it is an open-air theatre, theatre activists should be mindful of the direction of the sun when erecting the stage to avoid blinding the audience.

(VII d). In order to attract more audience to the performance grounds, theatre workers should use either a "loud-hailer" or let the performers travel in a vehicle around the village singing and beating their drums or any musical instrument to announce the performance.

Before the performance begins the master of ceremonies must welcome the audience and tell it what the theatre team wants to do. The audience is seated in a horse-shoe facing the stage. The performance should be started off with an activity that would capture audience' attention and maintain it throughout the presentation period and then followed by dramatic skits interspersed with songs and dances.

(VIII). For discussion leaders to able to give correct answers to audience's questions concerning technical subjects such as tuberculosis, nutrition, venereal disease, etc., in which they are not experts, a briefing course for them should be built into the popular theatre programme. The community discussion must be held immediately after the last presentation so that the audience will not disperse.

After the discussion, a plenary session of all groups should be held so that each group reports on its findings. Then an open discussion is held involving the whole audience. This discussion should be brief so that the audience will not lose interest and leave. The theatre team leader or the chairperson conducts the discussion and tries to get a democratic consensus of the audience on solutions and action.

(IX). It is necessary that popular theatre workshops be evaluated. This evaluation helps to assess the impact of the workshop in the community in which it is held. Through the evaluation, theatre practitioners are able to review the workshop process at every stage and make strategies for collective action. A systematic assessment of the previous day's work not only provides a unified view on what theatre workers and audience are going to do for the day but also helps in sorting out different expectations and analysing options. The villagers, however, should be included in the evaluation. Theatre activists can evaluate the effectiveness of popular theatre workshops by examining audience attendance, audience participation, group discussion, reports from field workers, and observations.

(X). Follow-up action should come after popular theatre workshops in order to reinforce the skills learnt by the community organisational base for collective action. However, since at times some extension workers are often found wanton in certain technical subjects, the follow-up programme should be organised as part of the workshop process and built on normal extension activities. A follow-up programme builds on the interest aroused during the popular theatre programme and generates action.

In a nutshell, popular theatre practitioners, when organising popular theatre workshops, should bear in mind the following:

*Concentrate on the people's objectives as opposed to theirs;

*Make the people the controllers of the whole workshop process;

*Conduct research with the people for their needs, problems, attitudes, and preferences;

*Involve all villagers irrespective of their social status, caste or political affiliation in the research for community issues and concerns in order to eliminate sectoral interests of the rich to be used as themes for the performances;

*Make participants aware of their own situation and the general socio-economic reality of their community or environment:

*Remember that development objectives and strategies should reflect the value of the community;

*Present information of new skills in an organised fashion, proceeding from simple to complex;

*Analyse identified issues in relation to the practical difficulty at hand in the community;

*Allow performers to examine the chosen issues thoroughly by exploring the factors that withhold people from resolving them and those that facilitate change;

*Include other performative arts as a blend not only to diversify and make the performance lively but also to reinforce the issues reflected in the drama;

*Should not allow the technical considerations of the scenario and the various performative arts to dominate the performance preparation;

*Create popular theatre performances on crucial problems in the lives of the villagers;

*Involve peasant audiences in the making and remaking of the performances;

*Be aware of the fact that the rural people already have indigenous performance forms and cultural activities and build their plays on the people's traditions and popular knowledge;

*Space out daily performance schedule so that players would have time for relaxation to avoid tension among them;

*Start off performance with an activity that would capture audience's attention and maintain it throughout the presentation period;

*Intersperse dramatic skits with other performative arts;

*Build briefing course for post-performance discussion leaders into the popular theatre programme;

*Hold post-performance discussion immediately after last presentation so that audience would not disperse;

*Evaluate workshop with peasants in order to assess its impact in the community in which it is held;

*Conduct follow-up action after the popular theatre workshop in order to reinforce the skills learnt by the community organisational base for collective action.

The preceding theory drawn from the research of Ross Kidd's varied popular theatre workshops from 1974 through 1986 has evolved from his perspectives as an adult educator and popular theatre activist within national and international circles of running popular theatre workshops. The theory is helpful as a set of guidelines for organising popular theatre workshops. It can be applied to all aspects of popular theatre projects, ranging from popular theatre for community development to popular theatre for raising political consciousness or for conscientisation. Only through using these findings related to the cultural forms of the people involved in the workshop and in conjunction with the unique understanding of their needs and preferences can one begin to comprehend the realities of the people's concerns and issues so as to resolve them.

It is worth mentioning that Ross Kidd is a reputable international popular theatre practitioner. He organised popular theatre projects in Africa, Asia, and in his home country, Canada. From his experiences of each year's popular theatre organisation, he has moved away from the didactic method to a participatory method by involving all the people concerned with the theatre project in every aspect of the theatre process.

Ross Kidd is equivalent to Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal, in that they all disregard the didactic method, which Paulo Freire has termed the "Banking" system. However, Ross Kidd has written more extensively on popular theatre activities than either Paulo Freire or Augusto Boal, thus, making his contribution to popular theatre invaluable. By his profuse writing, he has made his reports accessible to other popular theatre activists for perusal and probable emulation.

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